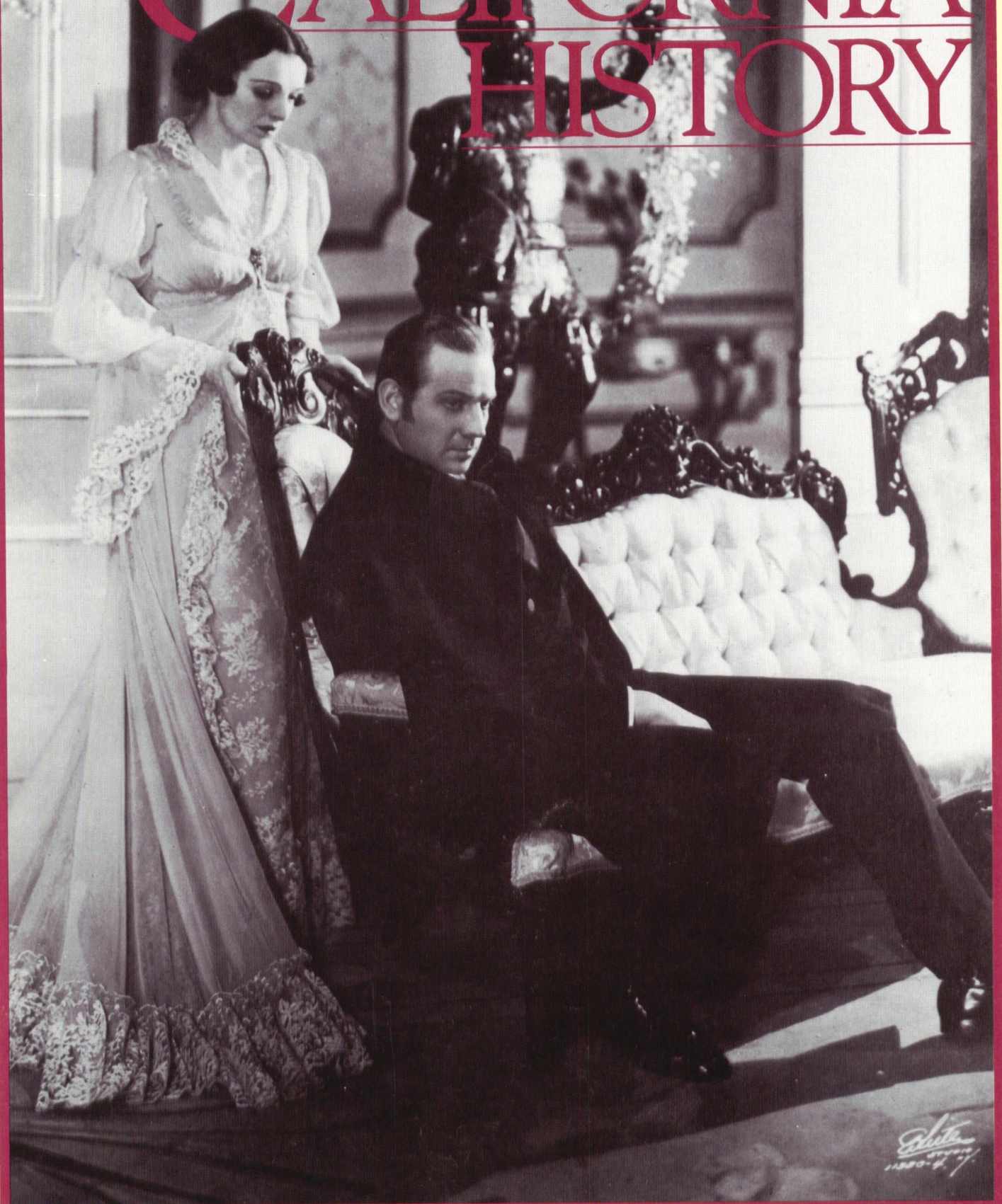


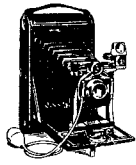
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CALIFORNIA HISTORY



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California Snapshots



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(Above) Thanksgiving Day (November 28), 1907. Hollister 61, Pacific Grove O. At Hollister.

The game was rugby, not American football, which had been outlawed at the University of California and Stanford in 1906. A national controversy over the violence of football came to a head in California after the 1904 "Big Game" between California and Stanford in which the Stanford team disabled eight California players. That game, according to long-time California coach Brick Morse, "was a remarkable demonstration of the bad which had crept into the American game. It was a case of concentration of attack on a weak man in the line until he could stand it no longer and was forced out of the game. . . . President Wheeler saw that something must be done. . . . Any game that has for its object the crippling of an opponent needs reform."

High school teams followed the university lead in switching from American football to rugby. The Gilroy Advocate noted on November 30, 1907, that "football seems to be revived now and the High School boys are eagerly playing the new game, Rugby." A week before coming to Hollister for its Thanksgiving Day debacle, the Pacific Grove team had hosted Gilroy in a game for which Gilroy had been practicing "every afternoon."

Pacific Grove, one of four high schools in Monterey County, had an enrollment of eighty-three students and four teachers in 1905. The San Benito County High School in Hollister had a graduating class of twenty in 1909, the year it moved into the two-story brick-and-steel building designed by architect W.H. Weeks. A 1915 photograph of the Hollister football team shows nineteen players and three teachers on the steps of the new high school buildings. That year the school had 165 students. The players are wearing rugby uniforms—shorts, jerseys displaying a large "H," and cleated, high-top shoes. Athletic change was in the air in 1915, however, as the University of California returned to American football after fielding a 1914 team whose members "had been trained from boyhood in the English type of play," according to Morse. In a dispute over freshman eligibility for varsity teams, Stanford and the University of California severed athletic relations, and California found a new "big game" rival—the University of Washington, which played American football. By 1918, when California and Stanford Student Army Training Corps teams resumed the traditional contest, American football was again the college game.

(Cover) Helen Gahagan and Melvyn Douglas in a scene from *Mother Lode*, a play by California playwright Dan Totheroh, in 1934. Photo courtesy of Carl Albert Center Congressional Archives, University of Oklahoma.

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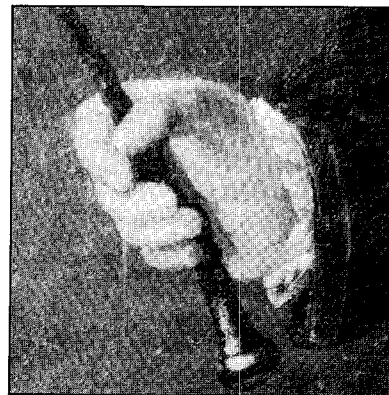
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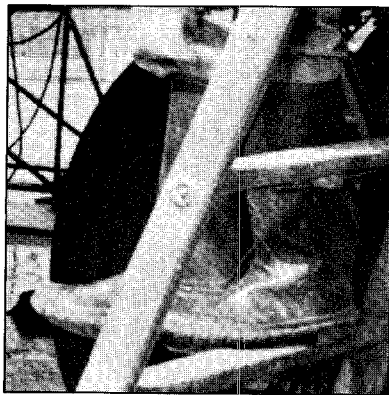
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Ingrid Winther Scobie

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

BROADWAY STAR AS CALIFORNIA POLITICIAN

Helen Gahagan Douglas died of cancer on June 28, 1980, at the age of seventy-nine. Newspapers across the country reminded readers that in 1950 this actress-turned-politician lost her race against Richard M. Nixon for the United States Senate seat in California in perhaps the most celebrated red-smear campaign of the cold war years. The *Los Angeles Times*, which virtually shut Douglas out of its news coverage during her six-year congressional career, commented that Nixon's campaign "was a model of its kind—innuendo piled on innuendo." The paper cited Douglas's political courage as her most significant contribution to American politics. In a letter to the *Times* editor, Stanley Mosk, a prominent San Francisco judge, commented that to lose both the noted California writer Carey McWilliams and Douglas in the same week was "a tragic loss for

American democracy" and called for a "requiem for the demise of an era." Former congressman Jerry Voorhis, himself a political loser to Nixon in 1946, predicted that this "noble" woman would live on as a "symbol of the Gallant American Lady." Tenant farm worker organizer H.L. Mitchell called Douglas a "sainted person." United States senators Alan Cranston and Howard Metzenbaum inserted lengthy newspaper obituaries in the *Congressional Record* with preliminary adulatory remarks of their own.¹

Melvyn Douglas, Helen's husband of forty-nine years, received several hundred letters which revealed in a more private way the esteem and affection both friends and strangers felt for Helen. The son of New Dealer David Lilienthal, Ernest, who knew Helen as a child, wrote that he still had the copy of *Mary Poppins* that Helen had given him as a child, and, "very simply, I worshipped her."

Congressman Claude Pepper called her "one of the greatest and loveliest ladies whom our land has known." Motivated by an "overriding purpose" to build a better world, he said, she "contributed enormously to helping people . . . walk

on higher ground." One person who wrote had attended college in 1950 and had been profoundly affected by the senate campaign. He said that "among the little people of America there were those who remember Helen's grandeur" and feel a great loss. "I was one of those whose life was illuminated by her leadership and principles."²

In 1897, Walter Gahagan, a civil engineer born and raised in Ohio, and his bride Lillian, a teacher who had grown up in Wisconsin, moved to Brooklyn. In the summer of 1900, Lillian, Walter, and their two-year-old twins, Frederick and William, took up temporary residence in Boonton where Walter had a contract to build a large reservoir. On November 20, Lillian gave birth to Helen shortly before the family moved back into their Brooklyn home. Two years later a second girl, Lillian, was born, and the Gahagans moved their growing and active family into an imposing brownstone house in the city's posh Park Slope area adjacent to Brooklyn Park

Helen Gahagan Douglas emerging from a voting booth during the 1950 primary election in California in which she won the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. Senator.

and Grand Army Plaza. In 1910, a fifth child, Walter Jr., added even more bustle to the busy household.

Walter viewed hard work, constant reading, and education as the essentials of a successful life for men and women, but that did not mean that women should pursue careers. He engrained in his children a series of rules stemming from his business principles. One which made a particular impression on Helen was the directive to "make everybody's life and every place you've been better because you've been there." His wife Lillian also believed in education as well as exposure to the arts and a good religious upbringing in the Presbyterian Church. Unlike some of her contemporaries, Lillian disagreed with her husband over careers for women, and had begun a promising singing career in opera which Walter prohibited her from pursuing. Yet when Helen developed an early interest in the theatre, Lillian was as adamant as Walter in opposing it.

Aside from continual friction over her acting ambitions, Helen grew up feeling a close bond to her parents and enjoyed family activities. Walter

often took the children to his construction sites. Lillian invited musicians to the house to perform. She took the children down the street to the Brooklyn Art Museum and the public library on Saturdays. Helen went with her mother to the Metropolitan Opera but did not enjoy it. Helen recalled, "I would be so unhappy sitting through long operas and I'd complain, 'They're all so *fat*, Mother.'" When Helen said she wanted to be an actress, her mother responded, "Why do you want to be an actress? 'Why don't you want to be something really worthwhile—a singer?'"³

Summers were special times for the Gahagans. They visited family in the Midwest and when the children became teenagers, the family travelled to Europe. In 1914, Walter bought Cliff Mull, a lovely Victorian house on a hill above Lake Morey near Fairlee, Vermont. After that, the family spent at least part of every summer in Vermont. Although the girls had to endure lessons, including piano and poetry reading, they had their afternoons free to play tennis, swim, hike, and read. Helen regularly found a secluded spot where she read and daydreamed. Even in the last year of her life, Helen found Vermont an escape, a critical source of nourishment, beauty, and repose.

It was always a letdown for Helen to return to Brooklyn to begin school. She and her sister attended Berkeley Institute, a private school in the neighborhood designed to prepare young women for college. Helen's perpetual dislike of school began in kindergarten when Berkeley dropped her behind a grade because she could not spell, a problem

that continued to plague her as an adult. Helen hated both her academic courses and the rules outlining proper behavior for "young ladies," and she consistently performed poorly. Helen much preferred to spend her time making up stories and acting them out, but theatre had no place at Berkeley until Helen's freshman year when Elizabeth Grimball, a drama coach by training, joined the faculty. She quickly realized that this academically rebellious teenager had exceptional acting talent and considerable intelligence. Before long, Helen began starring in plays and participating on the debate team. Helen's grades improved in Grimball's class, but deteriorated in others. Much to Grimball's dismay, not to mention Helen's, the irate Gahagans pulled their daughter out of Berkeley and sent her to the Capon School in Northampton, Massachusetts, a similar school which primarily prepared students for admission into Smith College. Against her parents' instructions, Helen immediately involved herself in play productions and did little better academically. She managed to graduate, but it took a summer of tutoring at Dartmouth for her to pass the entrance examinations for Barnard College, the only school Helen was permitted to consider. Her parents wanted her in New York at a women's college so they could attempt to keep track of their prodigal daughter.⁴

Barnard, a coordinate college with Columbia University, provided a stimulating intellectual environment and prepared women for a wide variety of employment opportunities. Helen never became part of the intellectual swirl of activity, but to

Ingrid Winther Scobie is a member of the History and Government Department at Texas Woman's University in Denton. She is currently completing a full-length biography on Helen Gahagan Douglas to be published by Atheneum Publishers early in 1989. Her articles on Douglas and other subjects have appeared in various historical journals. This article was made possible by a grant from the Sydney Stern Memorial Trust. All photos courtesy of Carl Albert Congressional Archives, University of Oklahoma, except where otherwise indicated.



Gahagan with Glenn Hunter in a scene from *Young Woodley*, 1925.

her delight, the college had a strong tradition of dramatic activity, quite unusual for colleges and universities at that time. Helen entered in 1920 and soon discovered a place for herself in the students' tradition of Greek games which had become an elaborate annual pageant. She also had opportunities to act and direct in *Wigs and Cues*, the student organization for play production.

Helen's most rewarding theatrical adventure at Barnard took place in an Irish literature course that she took with close friend Alis De Sola. In 1922 the two dramatized an episode from an Irish epic which eventually became a one-act play, *The Shadow of the Moon*. The girls showed the script to Grimbail, Helen's high school mentor, who arranged to have the play produced off-Broadway with Helen in the lead role. This production led to two more off-Broadway plays for Helen. The noted

actress Grace George, who had a reputation for finding young actors and actresses, saw her in a performance and insisted that her husband, the crusty, established Broadway producer William Brady, see Helen perform. Brady was so enthusiastic he asked the starry-eyed Helen to play the lead role in *Dreams for Sale*, a new Owen Davis play about to go into rehearsal in August 1922. Brady also offered her, on the eve of opening night, a five-year contract for starring Broadway roles, which Helen accepted. Few actors, no matter how talented, stepped directly from any preparatory environment—stock company, drama school, or college theatre—into a leading role contract with a New York producer. The time could not have been more propitious, since one of the most vibrant decades in the history of American drama was just beginning. Helen paid a per-

sonal price for her dizzying success, nevertheless, because her decision enraged her father. Although Brady eventually convinced Walter that his daughter was not entering an "improper" profession for ladies from fine families, Walter was deeply disappointed over Helen's decision to leave school.⁵

Despite poor reviews for *Dreams for Sale*, Gahagan caught critics' attention. In a comment typical of most of his colleagues, the eminent critic Alexander Woollcott called her an "indisputable talent." When the show closed, Gahagan moved on to starring roles which spanned the next several years, including Leah in C.M.P. McLellan's *Leah Kleshna*, a part originally written for the famed actress Minnie Maddern Fiske. From her debut, critics compared her style to that of Ethel Barrymore. They rarely failed to mention her uncommon beauty—tall at 5'7" and well-proportioned with a regal bearing. After several years, she was often included in the handful of actresses considered Broadway's best. Gahagan, however, never hesitated to turn down a role that did not interest her. Unlike other fledgling stars, she still had financial backing from her family and spent most summers in Europe with her mother. In 1925, Gahagan left Brady for George Tyler, another veteran producer whose gentle personality and innovative productions suited her better. She did several plays with Tyler, including a long tour in 1925–26 with John Van Druten's *Young Woodley* in which she starred with Glenn Hunter. But by 1927 Helen was restless with the

Gahagan in a publicity shot for her first European concert tour, 1929.

stage and, under pressure from her mother to develop her singing, decided to take voice lessons.⁶

Gahagan began instruction with voice coach Sophia Cehanovska, a Russian immigrant, and eventually immersed herself fulltime in her lessons. In 1929 Cehanovska arranged for her hardworking student to tour Europe during the summer. Her repertoire included the lead roles in *Tosca*, *Aida*, and *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Although her reviews were less than superlative, Gahagan had visions of auditioning for the Met and a variety of American engagements. When none of this materialized, she sailed again to Europe in the summer of 1930 with the idea of staying two years.⁷

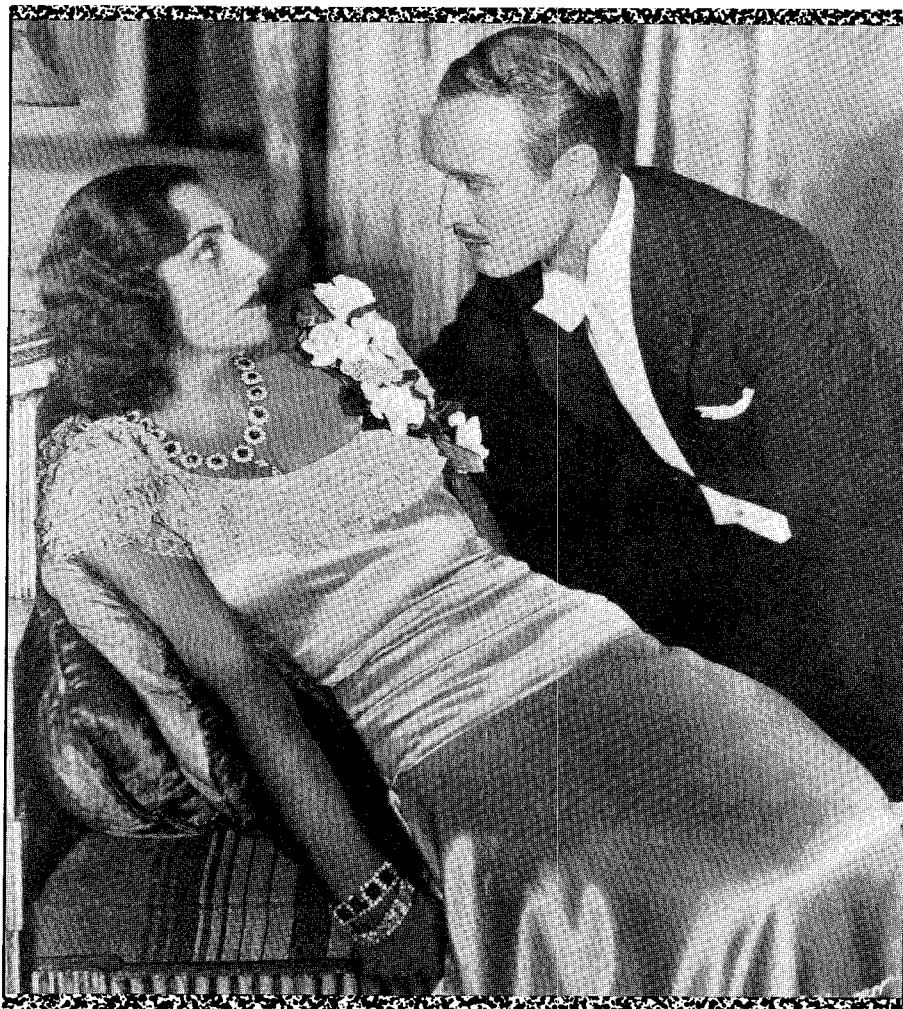
This plan evaporated several months later when the aging theatre legend David Belasco offered Helen the lead role in a new play by Lili Hatvany entitled *Tonight or Never*. Belasco thought Gahagan ideal to play an opera singer whose agent is convinced she could sing better if she would only have an affair. The agent's predictions prove correct after the diva has a passionate evening with an "unknown gentleman" who turns out to be a Met scout. With Gahagan's consent Belasco selected an accomplished actor but a relative newcomer to Broadway, Melvyn Douglas, as the irresistible lover. During the rehearsal period, Gahagan and Douglas fell in love, and in April, 1931, near the end of the play's long run, they married.⁸

The newlyweds' lives took an unexpected turn a month later when Hollywood producer Samuel Gold-

wyn purchased the movie rights to *Tonight or Never* as a means for Gloria Swanson to launch her singing career. The entire cast moved to Hollywood for the filming. The Douglasses initially viewed this trip to California as a temporary one, but movie offers continued to come Melvyn's way and Helen had some singing and acting opportunities with theatres in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The couple did two plays together on Broadway but both plays closed early. In general, however, appealing offers came only sporadically for Helen. She had little luck getting into film, making only one movie, *She* with RKO in 1935. The science fiction fantasy failed at the box office. A radio contract also proved disappointing. The Douglasses' lives were further complicated by the birth of two children, Peter in 1933 and Mary Helen in 1938.⁹



In the summer of 1937 Helen looked forward to a European singing tour culminating with a performance at the Salzburg Festival. Rather than operatic roles, she had developed a solid repertoire of songs, including German lieder and the music of Joseph Marx, a popular Austrian composer. Audiences were enthusiastic, although once again the reviews were mixed. Despite the tense political situation resulting from the rapid spread of Nazism, no unpleasant incidents occurred until Helen's stay in Salzburg. There an individual introduced by a friend asked Helen to provide reports on anti-Nazi activity in the United States. Horrified at the request, she cancelled a fall engagement with the Vienna Opera and returned home, determined to involve herself in anti-fascist activities in Hollywood. Helen and Melvyn both joined the five-thou-



Helen Gahagan with "the unknown gentleman" in *Tonight or Never*, 1930. At the end of its New York run, Gahagan married Melvyn Douglas.

sand-member Hollywood Anti-Nazi League.¹⁰

Helen initially considered her political activity to be of secondary interest, but her career as a performer was fading. Her cousin Walter Pick, who lived with the Douglasses in the late 1930s, commented that after Helen returned from Europe she no longer had the "same great drive as before."¹¹ Part of the explanation lies in diminished opportunities. Chances to sing in the United States had always been limited, and existing European doors were closing fast in 1938 and 1939. Professional theatre opportunities on both coasts continued to decline as the depression wore on. But another part of the explanation involved Melvyn. By the end of the 1930s, he had become one of the highest paid leading men, known for his fine comic timing, his handsome looks, and his ability to play

well against Hollywood's female stars. While not all of his films offered him a chance to demonstrate his talent, *Ninotchka*, produced in 1939, certainly eliminated any questions about his talent as a screen actor.¹² Although Helen never resented Melvyn's success, she had always felt their careers should be equally successful. With his star rising and hers on the decline, she was ready to be pulled off in another direction. Within eighteen months after Helen made her first step into the political arena, she had become a leading figure in the California Democratic party with considerable national visibility. Except for a few minor engagements, Helen neither acted nor sang again until the early 1950s. But she did not set aside her theatrical skills. Her rapid political climb was due in large part to her ability to shift her acting skills from the dramatic to the political stage.

The Douglasses' heightened awareness coincided with a change in the political atmosphere in Hollywood. In the early 1930s, the movie colony had been a center of political indifference, but by 1937, it had become a hotbed of radical and liberal activity. The political awakening in Hollywood paralleled the awakening around the country.

Helen Douglas's move into politics began unexpectedly in the early fall of 1938. Melvyn, who had become active in the Democratic party and other organizations during the previous year, offered the patio of the Douglasses' spacious home to the John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers for a meeting. Sitting in, Helen found herself fascinated with the problems being discussed.¹³ Her initial curiosity soon evolved into a commitment to action, and she organized a Christmas party for migrant children, which attracted thousands. Then she began to tour migrant camps and attend government hearings and meetings of concerned citizens. In early 1939 she became the committee's chair, working hard to publicize the problem, solicit money, and encourage the public to push for labor laws and social security that would include the migrants. She also urged improvements in housing, health services, and food distribution centers. She constantly asked questions, drawing information from experts, particularly Paul Taylor, professor of

Entering the political arena by taking on projects to aid migrant workers, Gahagan visited camps to see for herself what the situation was. The San Joaquin Valley camp for cotton pickers where this pump was the only source of water in 1936 was typical of what she saw.

economics at the University of California, Berkeley.¹⁴ Soon she was on the lecture circuit as her activities made her a sought-after speaker for concerned groups. She eventually drew the attention of migrant experts in Washington, including Arthur Goldschmidt, who worked for the Department of the Interior under Harold Ickes. Goldschmidt described his first encounter with Helen: "I found myself subjected to an intense cross-examination—grilling might not be too strong a word. She accepted no vague generalities. . . . Her questions were not naive; . . . I came away . . . enchanted with a sense of wonder at Helen's display of energy—at the physical, emotional and mental drive of this beautiful and glamorous person."¹⁵

By mid-1939 Helen had been noticed by Aubrey Williams, head of the National Youth Authority, who frequently told Eleanor Roosevelt about interesting people around the country whom he thought she and FDR would like to meet. In the summer of 1939, Williams wrote to the Roosevelts about the California political activities of the Douglasses. He mentioned to FDR that Melvyn could be a political asset for the 1940 campaign and that Helen's information about migrants would be useful to both Roosevelts. Eleanor Roosevelt was quick to respond; she invited the Douglasses to dinner and to spend the night at the end of



November 1939. The evening proved delightful; the two couples were drawn to each other, and a genuine friendship from which both couples stood to benefit took shape almost immediately.¹⁶

During the next few days, the Douglasses met a large group of high-ranking New Dealers including cabinet members Frances Perkins and Harold Ickes, who were as eager to rub shoulders with the bright, enthusiastic, and glamorous Hollywood couple as the Douglasses were to meet Washington's political elite. The Douglasses left Washington exhilarated and carrying a standing invitation to stay at the White House when business brought them to Washington. Thereafter, Eleanor Roosevelt began to visit and often stay with her new friends on her trips west. Neither Douglas hesitated to contact the Roosevelts or the cabinet members they had met concerning their political activities. The President appointed both Douglasses to

various White House boards and remained in close touch with what each was doing. In turn the Douglasses became outspoken supporters of Roosevelt's policies.

When the Douglasses returned to Los Angeles, Helen turned her attention to planning the Steinbeck Committee's second Christmas party, a massive gathering that attracted over eight thousand migrants. Shortly after the party Helen resigned from the committee because she learned of Communist infiltration into the organization.¹⁷ Before the Soviet-Nazi pact of September 1939 liberals of all persuasions were virtually indistinguishable from each other; they formed a United Front that supported the New Deal and opposed fascism. But after the pact, American Communists began to object to the anti-Fascist stands of liberal organizations. The United Front fell apart quickly as non-Communist liberals dropped their membership. After Helen resigned, she wrote her friend



Eleanor Roosevelt and California Governor Culbert L. Olson greeting guests on the Douglasses' patio after a performance by the California National Youth Authority orchestra, 1941.

Douglas. Despite her novice status in the party, liberals found Douglas's flamboyant style and attractive appearance, her political views, and her friendship with the Roosevelts much more appealing than the prickly conservative Jones's party credentials. When Douglas won, it was not surprising that Jones resented Helen's lack of the traditional credentials required for this position.²¹

Douglas enjoyed the publicity surrounding her appointment, which drew national attention, and felt comfortable mingling with the Democratic power structure. When she and Melvyn returned to California they both plunged into a hectic campaign speaking schedule—Melvyn nationally and Helen throughout California. When Roosevelt took California by a landslide, party officials in Washington singled out the Douglasses for their contributions to the victory. Helen's speaking ability surpassed that of more seasoned politicians, and she had proved that she had the power to draw and hold a crowd. Together the Douglasses had led the campaign efforts of Hollywood Democrats, persuading many actors to give political speeches and make substantial campaign contributions.²²

After a week of festivities during the January inauguration, Melvyn plunged back into his studio work while Helen decided to let her political activities absorb her energies. Through state party chairman William Malone she gained two additional Democratic Party positions.

Congressman Jerry Voorhis that she found herself in the "absurd position . . . of most liberals today. The Communists call us reactionaries and the reactionaries call us Communists!"¹⁸ At this juncture, Helen Douglas took her initial steps into the Women's Division of the Democratic Party in a process that brought her closer to Eleanor Roosevelt and also provided an entry into the power structure of Democratic politics. In so doing, she placed herself right in the middle of party feuds between northern and southern California and between the party's liberals and conservatives. In an article for the February 1940 issue of the *Democratic Digest*, the widely read monthly magazine of the national Women's Division office, Helen urged state and local governments to respond to migrant needs and communities to assimilate the migrant and "recognize him for his true worth—a vital and necessary ele-

ment in the agriculture structure [and] a human being . . . whose welfare affects the country at large."¹⁹ This impelled Dorothy McAllister, national director of the Women's Division, to invite Douglas to speak at the division's first National Institute of Government in Washington, a conference to educate party women about campaign issues and party organization in preparation for the 1940 fall campaign. That spring Mrs. Roosevelt came to California to visit migrant camps on a trip arranged by Helen and Melvyn.²⁰

In July, the Douglasses journeyed to Chicago for the party's nominating convention. Melvyn went as a delegate, Helen as an alternate. When it came time to choose California's Democratic Party Committeewoman there were two principal candidates: long-time party worker, head of the Women's Division in California, and conservative Nettie Jones, and Helen

Douglas campaigning for Congress in 1944. Although she had continued to use her maiden name professionally after her marriage to Melvyn Douglas, she believed her status as the wife of a man on active military duty was a political asset in her first campaign for elected office and began to identify herself as Helen Gahagan Douglas.

She became vice-chair of the state organization and replaced Nettie Jones as head of the Women's Division. Malone claimed to have appointed her to these jobs so that he would not have to deal with more than one woman; in retrospect he admitted that he had underestimated her abilities.²³

In the first few months of 1941, Douglas spent most of her time strengthening the existing structure of the statewide Women's Division and making new appointments down to the county level. She appointed two women to head the North while she and an assistant took responsibility for the South. Her appointees were bright professional women, many of whom had never before been active in the Women's Division and were not involved in the rampant factionalism within the division. With her structure in place, Douglas turned her attention to the major focus of the national Women's Division office—home-front defense plans and fundraising. She organized, in conjunction with the Washington office, a regional conference held in September 1941 for party women's education. Invitations were extended to men as well as women from the eleven-state area. She added glamor by including such movie stars on the program as Melvyn, Jackie Gleason, and Douglas Fairbanks. National party figures also addressed the three-day confer-



ence, and Douglas enjoyed the aftermath of praise for her "efficient organization and showmanship." Gladys Tillett, who had replaced McAllister as head of the Women's Division, wrote that she would have to place Douglas "apart as the standard among National Committee-women toward which others can work."²⁴

Although the conference demonstrated Douglas's organizational ability, a more significant test of her political acumen lay ahead, the mobilization of California Democratic women for the 1942 election. Nationally the picture looked gloomy. The congressional coalition between Republicans and conservative Democrats had continued to grow in strength since the 1936 election. After American entry into the war, hostility to-

wards the number of federal controls and the extension of social reforms had intensified and Democrats feared losing their congressional majority.

Douglas was concerned about all the southern California congressional seats but six in particular. She directed the Women's Division to work outside the regular party structure because she thought the women would be more effective this way.²⁵ They wrote and distributed thousands of fliers, registered voters, raised money, and canvassed precincts. In the final election, despite Governor Culbert Olson's loss to Republican Earl Warren in the gubernatorial race, Democrats won three of the six critical districts and several others as well. Particularly satisfying to Douglas was the ouster of Representative Leland Ford, an arch-conservative who had viciously rebaited Melvyn in the spring of 1942 when he had assumed a volunteer position with the Office of Ci-



House meetings were an effective way for Douglas to win support among her district's middle- and upper-class constituents. This one was typical of her 1944 campaign.

vilian Defense in Washington.²⁶ The Washington Democrats were delighted with the southern California victories in an election in which the party had lost 70 of its 318 House seats. Although it is difficult to assess Douglas's role in these victories, many gave her credit. The Secretary of the Democratic National Committee wrote: "You, personally, did a magnificent job. At least we could have come out much worse in our Congressional Districts and where we did come out successfully I am sure the results were due to your efforts. I want you to know that all of us in Washington appreciate this immensely."²⁷

Douglas's goal in 1943 was to coordinate the women to develop an education program directed primarily to postwar reconversion, a project she considered critical as groundwork for the 1944 election. Meanwhile, the 1942 campaign had given her close ties to the southern California congressional delegation, and Douglas cultivated these and other Washington contacts. She became particularly close to New Dealer Thomas Ford, who represented the fourteenth congressional district in Los Angeles, and his wife Lillian.²⁸

Late in 1943 the Fords suggested that Douglas consider running for Tom's seat. He had long planned to retire in 1944, and Douglas seemed to him an excellent replacement. She, however, had mixed feelings. The idea of running seemed at first somewhat overwhelming. Not only was she a woman, but Helen's credentials did not resemble those of other congressional candidates, male or female. In addition, she did not live in the fourteenth district but in the affluent residential hills of the adjacent fifteenth district. She was, in fact, a total stranger to the fourteenth, which encompassed the downtown core of Los Angeles. Furthermore, state assemblyman Augustus Hawkins had waited patiently for Ford's retirement. In many ways, Hawkins, the second black man to be elected to the state legislature, was a logical successor. He had a distinguished record in his fight for labor and civil rights. During the war years, the Los Angeles black population, which concentrated primarily in the assembly district Hawkins represented, grew substantially, and Hawkins had become an increasingly powerful voice in the community. But Ford and his

political advisers in the district felt Douglas would stand a better chance of winning. Despite her unfamiliarity with the district's problems, Ford believed the majority of his constituents would identify with her enthusiasm for the New Deal and Roosevelt. Furthermore, as he put it, the "people of the 14th are not going to vote for a Negro, however light-colored he may be."²⁹ In December, 1943, Douglas agreed to run.

Ford's district surrounded the heart of Los Angeles. It was comprised of four state assembly districts, the forty-fourth, fifty-fifth, sixty-second and the sixty-fourth, with constituents ranging from the poorest of minority families to some of the wealthiest individuals in Los Angeles County. Douglas once described the slums in her district as areas where a "chicken coop would be considered a high-priority dwelling—especially if you could have it all to yourself."³⁰ Over two dozen racial and ethnic communities, including Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and the city's oldest Mexican district, nestled next to each other and in between commercial districts. Two politically conservative, wealthy areas surrounded LaFayette Park and ran along Wilshire Boulevard. A tiny section of Hollywood intersected at the northwest corner. By 1945, 86,000 black people lived in the district and constituted almost twenty-five percent of the district's total population of 346,000.³¹

Ford passed on to Douglas a strong campaign structure. Its prin-

Election night, November 7, 1944, at Douglas's campaign headquarters. In front, left to right: Susie Clifton, Douglas, and Ed Lybeck (with cigarette).



cipal figures included Ford's manager Ed Lybeck, his wife Ruth, and secretary Florence Reynolds. Susie Clifton, an active Democrat in several elections and an astute campaign worker, joined the group when Douglas ran. The team began to get organized when the primary campaign began in March.

Hawkins decided not to run, but Loren Miller, a prominent black lawyer in the district filed, as did several other candidates. Vicious literature from various candidates began circulating immediately. One flier reminded voters that Douglas was married to a Jew and asserted that she was a Communist. After all, twelve years of the "communistic Tom Ford" was enough. The Los Angeles Times accused her of Communist ties because the national Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) backed her and because of her friendship with Vice-President Henry Wallace. A poster from a Democratic opponent depicted Douglas, labelled "Lady Bountiful," coming down out of the hills of the fifteenth district and asking a passerby, "Where's the Fourteenth District?"³² None of this criticism bothered Ford. He wrote to a friend that Douglas would "carry on in the tradition of *Stand by the President* [and] put the 14th on the map." Douglas wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt, "Well, I am really in the campaign and I never knew anything could be quite so repulsive."³³

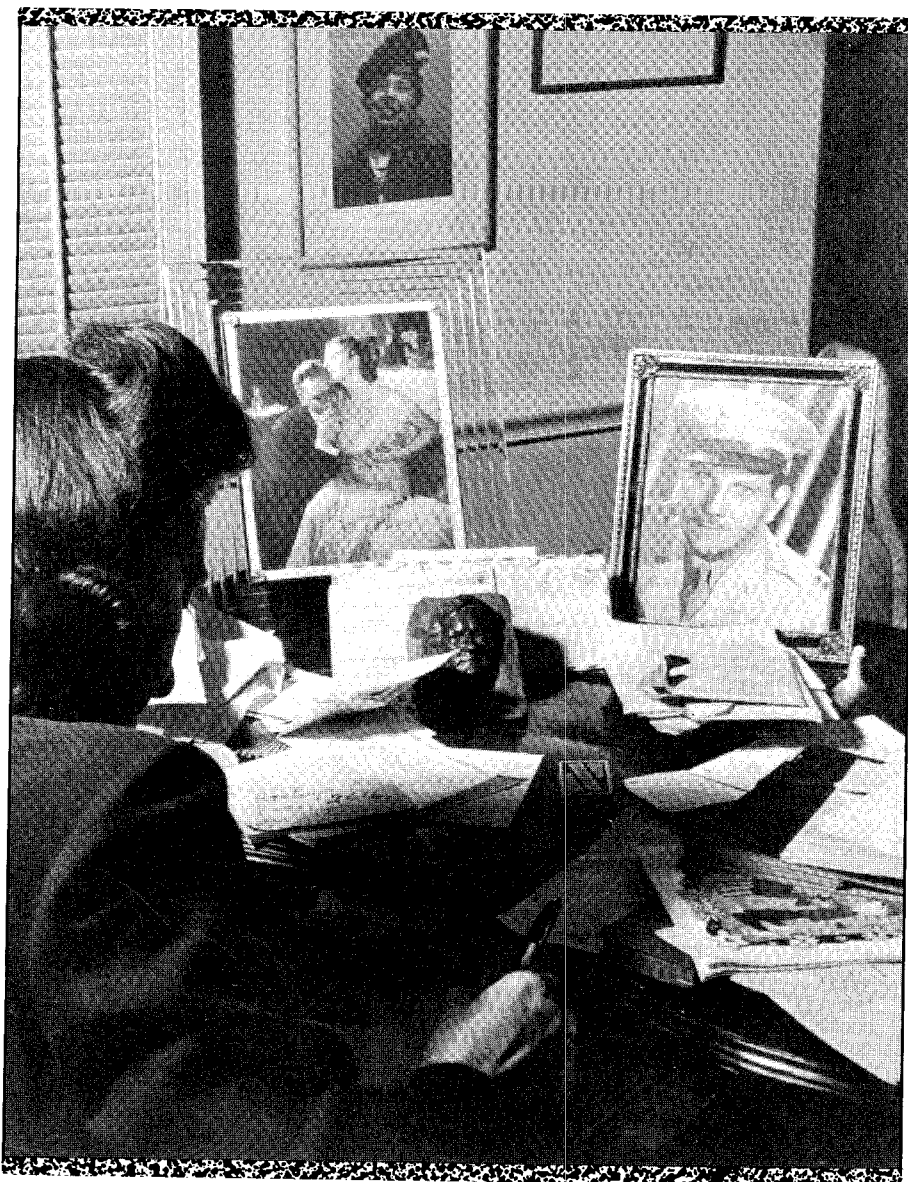
Douglas conducted an issue-oriented race, championing the New

Deal record and emphasizing her confidence in FDR's leadership. In true Women's Division style she went armed with facts, figures, and simple language while refusing to run down her opponents. Although she only hinted that as a member of Congress she would see herself as representing a national constituency, she communicated that what was good for the country was good for her district. Its problems, she argued, mirrored the challenges facing America. She held dozens of meetings in homes, an effort which helped dissipate some of the hostility from housewives who could not envision a woman in Congress. The key to her success lay both in her message and her means of communicating. She knew how to read an audience and emotionally charge a group by using colorful language, vivid analogies, and large dramatic gestures.

Douglas did not let her campaign interrupt her Women's Division work which included campaigning for

other congressional candidates. She wrote Mollie Dewson, the first director of the national Women's Division and still a political power, "I feel sometimes that with the weight of the entire state on my shoulders, as well as my personal campaign, that I'm not going to quite last the day or night, and I begin praying for strength." Douglas won the primary even though they "threw everything at me they could get their hands on," she told Alis De Sola. The Fords were jubilant.³⁴

After the Democratic nominating convention in July, where she was the principal woman speaker, Douglas began planning the fall campaign. Her strategy was similar to the one she used in the spring although her campaign committee worked harder to target particular groups, particularly the black community. In the primary, she and Miller had split the black vote, and she wanted to win it in the fall election. She went beyond FDR's position on civil rights by urging a per-



*Douglas at her desk in the bedroom of her Los Angeles home on Senalga Road, 1944. The photo on the left shows Helen Gahagan and Melvyn Douglas in *Tonight or Never*; on the right is Melvyn; and on the wall is Eleanor Roosevelt.*

manent Fair Employment Practices Commission and abolition of the poll tax. She also pressed for more general issues—better housing, job training for wartime workers, respect for the rights of organized labor, full protection for small farmers and small business, government support for the physically handicapped, and veterans' benefits.

The Republicans, like her Democratic opponents in the primary, conducted a redbaiting campaign. They also emphasized the fact that she lived outside the district and pointed out her connections with Hollywood. Nonetheless, with the hard work of the Lybecks and Fords, Douglas pulled off a victory as Roosevelt swept California. But her margin

was less than four thousand votes out of approximately 137,500 cast. Although Douglas gained a majority of the black votes, few black leaders had rallied to her support. Not even the liberal, black *California Eagle*, which later became her strong advocate, did much for her candidacy. Clearly she had a difficult challenge ahead of her to keep her district.³⁵

Douglas arrived in Washington early in January, 1945. Congress and the President faced two major responsibilities—to direct the economic reconversion of wartime America and to formulate policy for the nation in

its role as a new world leader. The contours of the critical debates had begun to take shape late in 1943 and 1944. Home-front questions centered on the appropriate role of government in controlling the cost of living, combating the housing shortage, placing unemployed veterans in jobs, and converting factories from the production of wartime goods back to the manufacture of domestic goods. Blacks demanded that a country which fought for freedom abroad with their help should guarantee them equality at home. Many women had developed both a different consciousness of their own abilities as a result of employment in wartime factories and a new sense of independence after long-term separation from their husbands. These women sought the right to economic and personal equality within the legal structure. The demands of labor, blacks, veterans, and women often conflicted, however, with the desire of business to increase rapidly the production of consumer goods with maximum profits.

The United States also faced new responsibilities abroad. Returning to an isolationist position was not an option as it had been after World War I. Assuming a major role in developing an international body to bring countries together to preserve world peace, the American government also accepted an obligation to rebuild its European allies which had

Douglas with her eighteen-month-old son Peter Gahagan Douglas before she entered politics.



emerged from war burdened by weakened economies and massive physical destruction. The United States had to develop guidelines for dealing with the Soviet Union, another new world power whose status as an American ally during the war developed into an adversary relationship once the war had ended. An American attitude of toughness and mistrust of the Russians led to strong anti-Communist sentiment at home and the development of a Cold War between the two countries. Americans also had to decide how to cope with atomic energy, whether it should be controlled by the military or civilians, whether knowledge should be shared with other countries, specifically the Soviet Union, and how this new source of energy should be developed.

In 1945, the Democrats controlled Congress, but the combination of conservative Democrats and Republicans formed a majority. Thus liberals, including Douglas, feared that Congress would not support a program to promise what they believed every American deserved—the right to a decent way of life including employment, adequate housing, food, and health care—while at the same time preventing rampant inflation. In foreign affairs, liberals argued that Americans should guarantee that the idealistic goals for which the country had fought in the war become a reality. Most initially viewed the Soviet Union if not as a friend at least as a country with which the United States had to work in order to ensure world peace.³⁶

Douglas discovered quickly that in order to have any impact as a new member of Congress, she would have to play a nontraditional role. She was too impatient to wait the length of time dictated by the conventions of the House for new members wishing to assume a position of power. She did not wish to spend an inordinate amount of time learning the fine points of legislative procedure, and she realized that even time did not guarantee power to women. Furthermore, she had a purist's theoretical notion of representative government. Viewing political issues in terms of right and wrong, she believed that government, run for and by the American people, should be improved by voters who elected legislators to vote

for the right programs. This philosophy set her apart from those who believed that legislative success came only with compromise.

Modelling herself after Eleanor Roosevelt, Douglas set out to develop policy for a national and often an international constituency of "ordinary people." She believed the economic interests of the national groups she deemed important, particularly labor and blacks, were identical to those of the key groups in her district. In foreign affairs, she saw herself speaking for every American who wanted peace. What was good for the world, therefore, was good for the country and for the district. She worked hard towards her goals on the floor of Congress, often lecturing her colleagues and inserting



Douglas with her daughter Mary Helen during the 1950 campaign. Her need to spend more time with her children added a note of relief to her disappointment at being defeated.

articles and speeches in the *Congressional Record*. She took her assignment to the Foreign Affairs Committee seriously. She also spoke before dozens of groups of concerned citizens all over the country urging them to pressure members of Congress.³⁷

The outlines of Douglas's liberal philosophy took shape and matured during her first term, the 79th Congress. Initially she had looked to FDR for policy guidelines, and after his death in April, 1945, her ideals came principally from Truman's Fair Deal program.³⁸ She developed numerous statements including demands for creation of a homeland for the Jews, support for the United Nations, a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), the end of the poll tax, a full employment bill, extension of social security, construction of low-cost housing, continuation of wartime rent and price controls, additional funds for day care programs and school lunches, more farm loans, an increase in the minimum wage, support for labor's right to strike, and funding for cancer research. She called the economic need of the vet-

erans a national crisis, began a long-term investigation of the problems of water in California's Central Valley, and demanded more attention to the problems of migrant workers. Her principal legislative success was her co-sponsorship of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, a law which placed the development of atomic energy in civilian rather than military hands. Douglas struck out against those who red baited her with a statement she entitled "My Democratic Credo" in which she explained that the way to keep communism out of the United States was by building a strong economy, controlling inflation, and providing jobs and affordable housing for all Americans.³⁹

Douglas's approach to the issue of civil rights illustrates her political style. She was a civil rights proponent in a manner reflective of Eleanor Roosevelt. In the upper-class Brooklyn society of her childhood, her Republican family did not mix with blacks, and Douglas became responsive to blacks only after she entered politics. Eleanor Roosevelt played a key role in introducing

Douglas to black leaders during the war, including Mary McLeod Bethune, head of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). In 1942, at the First Lady's request, Douglas called a meeting to discuss the employment and housing problems of Los Angeles blacks. She worked with FEPC investigations in defense industries. Once in Congress, Douglas aligned herself with a small handful of congressmen (including the two black representatives, Adam Clayton Powell and William Dawson) who persistently introduced FEPC, anti-lynching, and anti-poll tax bills, despite continual failure to get bills passed. Douglas not only tried to generate public pressure on Congress to pass civil rights legislation, but she also gave speeches for national and local branches of the NAACP and helped the NCNW raise funds. Blacks throughout the country recognized her contributions. The Scroll of Honor that she received in 1946 from the NCNW acclaimed her "superb statesmanship" in her first term in Congress.⁴⁰

Douglas's attitude toward civil rights was also politically astute. Her black community was an identifiable audience, and she needed to play to it. She and Lybeck made certain that the blacks in her district knew exactly what she was doing. After a speech in June, 1945, on FEPC, for example, she sent copies of the speech out to the black precincts while the issue was "hot." She reprinted tens of thousands of "The Negro Soldier," a series of speeches

Douglas on the balcony of her home in the 1940s.

she made in Congress at the end of 1945 in which she listed many of the war efforts of blacks, and had Lybeck blanket the black precincts with them. She also worked to bring increased services for blacks into her district. For example, she worked with the Los Angeles Committee for Interracial Progress, a coalition of fifty organizations, to direct federal housing funds into Los Angeles County, particularly into the fourteenth district, and she secured funding to expand post office facilities in the heart of the sixty-second assembly district.⁴¹

Douglas hoped that her civil rights activities would help her credibility in the 1946 campaign. Although she won the primary easily, the fall campaign proved more challenging. Her Republican opponent Frederick W. Roberts, a long-time state assemblyman, was black, and Roberts's candidacy split the black community. Basing his campaign on the argument that blacks should send blacks to Congress, Roberts supported a platform identical to Douglas's even though it varied from his legislative record. The Republican National Committee helped him financially and even sent Joe Louis to the district to campaign. As in 1944, red-baiting issues surfaced. One group, the 14th District League for the Preservation of the American Way of Life, circulated a flier asking Douglas why she had made a "secret trip to Moscow" the previous year. Douglas could not campaign in person to counter charges against her, because Truman had appointed her to the 1946 General Assembly of the United



Nations. Although this added to her prestige it kept her out of her district during the fall. She spoke weekly on the radio but left Lybeck to make all the daily decisions about campaign strategy.⁴²

Douglas's liberal stance on issues in general, her work on behalf of blacks nationally, and her careful cultivation of the black community paid off. In the midst of a landslide Republican victory nationwide in which the party took control of both the House and the Senate for the first time in sixteen years, Douglas almost doubled her margin from 1944. She was particularly delighted that she gained the majority of votes in the black precincts and interpreted this to mean that she had won the confidence of blacks that their interests would be more effectively served by a white Democrat with a liberal record than by a black Republican.⁴³

When the 80th Congress opened in January, 1947, the Democrats lost control of committee chairs and the House speaker. Frustrated from the start, liberal Democrats became increasingly angry as the 80th Congress progressed.⁴⁴ The conservatives refused to pass any of Truman's Fair Deal legislation; furthermore, they passed the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act over Truman's veto. Republican support for some reform legislation, including the extension of social security, increases in minimum wage, and a housing bill, was not satisfactory to the Democrats, who objected to the diluted versions of these bills which were enacted. In the arena of foreign affairs Congress gave bipartisan support to aid in Greece and Turkey, the Marshall Plan for rebuilding Europe, and the National Security Act.

Douglas addressing a session of the twelfth annual convention of the National Council of Negro Women, November 13, 1947, in Washington, D.C. Seated left, Anna Arnold Hedgeman, executive director of the NCNW; right, Mary McLeod Bethune, founder and president of the NCNW.



supporters gave Douglas only lukewarm support. Campaigners for her Republican opponent, William Braden, once again raised redbaiting issues. "Doctors for Braden," for example, implied that Douglas was part of the left-wing influences in Congress. Braden also played up her fifteenth congressional district residence—referring to her as the Hollywood representative who lived in the "hotsy-totsy area of Hollywood" as compared to the "modest home of our good neighbor and friend" Braden in the fourteenth district. Lybeck responded with widely-distributed speeches and pamphlets tailored to different constituencies. Despite Braden's attacks, Douglas took each assembly district, even the conservative fifty-fifth. Her vote of approximately 88,000 to Braden's 43,000 surprised even Douglas.⁴⁸

In January, 1949, at the opening of the 81st Congress, Douglas enjoyed enormous popularity in the eyes of labor, blacks, Jews and other minority groups, and civil libertarians. Many of her supporters agreed with Douglas's somewhat egotistical evaluation of herself as possibly the most conscientious member of Congress. She saw herself as a "people's representative" fighting for America's working class. She had grown accustomed to letters telling her that she was the only hope left for America. Organizations frequently presented her with laudatory awards and cita-

tions, reinforcing her self-image. Local, state, and national Democratic Party organizations as well as liberal special interest groups regarded her as an unusually persuasive public speaker as indicated by the constant stream of speaking invitations that came into her office.⁴⁹

At the same time that she had built herself a national support group, Douglas had gained the confidence of a broad majority of her constituents. The vast majority in her district, low income and poorly housed, agreed with her position on veterans, housing, unemployment, inflation, and civil rights. In addition, her forthright stand in favor of Israel and her willingness to defend the civil liberties of accused Communists attracted local support, both volunteer hours and financial contributions, among the more elite pressure groups including Jewish associations, Hollywood political groups, and univer-

sity faculty. She also generated loyal and enthusiastic support among her key group of core campaign workers.⁵⁰

When Douglas announced late in 1949 that she intended to run for the United States Senate, she found that many of her supporters were dismayed and concerned. Many who believed she could continue as long as she wished to represent the fourteenth district did not think she had much of a chance to win a statewide race. Lybeck, for example, knew she did not have the statewide political base or the experience to run for the Senate. Further, while her political views suited her district, they did not reflect majority opinion in the state. Another long-term backer took a



Douglas presenting trophies to the two top members of the Sixth Engineers National Guard in 1950. Governor Earl Warren had signed a bill on July 18, 1949, outlawing discrimination in the National Guard, but the legacy of California's two segregated units remained.

trip up and down the state in late 1949 to sound out support. He came back discouraged and urged Douglas not to run. But she remained undaunted.⁵¹

Douglas explained her decision to run by her intense dislike for the aging incumbent, Sheridan Downey. Although Downey had enjoyed liberal support in the late 1930s and early 1940s, he had become progressively more conservative after the war. Douglas believed Downey's vulnerability lay in his opposition to the 160-acre limitation on water usage, and she justified her entry into the race on this issue alone. As she told Malone, still a political power in the party, the issue was not going to the Senate but prohibiting Downey from destroying "a program that is essential to the well-being of the West Coast."⁵² When Douglas entered the race, however, she quickly broadened the issues. She portrayed herself as representing the lower- and lower-middle-income people of California—veter-

ans, small farmers, women, blacks, ethnics and small businessmen—and Downey as favoring the big farmer, private utilities, oil, and big business.

Despite Downey's strong corporate support, Douglas made him nervous. His health was failing as well. At the end of February, rumors circulated that he planned to back out. A month later he formally withdrew, throwing his campaign support behind Manchester Boddy, the editor of the liberal Los Angeles *Daily News* who had provided critical support to Douglas during her first two terms. Boddy took Douglas and many Democrats aback when he not only made clear that his views suddenly reflected Downey's but also turned to redbaiting as the key to his campaign strategy. Although Douglas's reason for entering the race had vanished, her enthusiasm for winning did not.

As she had before, Douglas campaigned strictly on issues. She cited her continuous support for Truman's

Fair Deal program. She also pointed out that she believed she had played an instrumental role in the refining of foreign policy as the fourth-ranking member of the House Foreign Relations Committee. She insisted that while she opposed HUAC, she hated communism as she had explained in her "Democratic Credo." Douglas also emphasized her support for federal rather than state control of tidelands oil reserves.

Douglas's views cut her off from the major funding sources. The oil industry, big business, and corporate farmers all backed Boddy. Although the Democratic party could not formally take sides during the primary, Boddy enjoyed the informal support of its power structure. None of this bothered Douglas; she had never sought corporate support but had claimed it would compromise her voting. Many union friends offered considerable assistance, although labor could not play a formal role in the spring election. Douglas also got help throughout the state from ethnic groups, academics, Jews, farmers, blacks, and liberal women's groups. Eleanor Roosevelt conducted a major fundraising effort in her behalf, and many Hollywood friends offered time and money. Conservative Democratic women found Douglas's views, particularly her stand against the Equal Rights Amendment, distasteful.

Despite Boddy's financial edge

Douglas with supporters at a luncheon in San Francisco's Chinatown during the 1950 Senate campaign.



and his potentially devastating allegations that Douglas had Communist sympathies, Douglas won the primary by a comfortable margin; her 730,000 votes were nearly double Boddy's. She won for several reasons. Boddy did not have as effective a campaign organization as Douglas, who took advantage of her contacts from Women's Division days to set up strong offices in each county. Boddy's late entry in the campaign and sudden conservative turnaround after years of state-wide reputation as the well-respected editor of a liberal paper cost him votes. Nor did he have Douglas's charismatic appeal as a speaker and ability to articulate issues clearly.⁵³

But Douglas's victory did not bode well for the fall. Congressman Richard M. Nixon, the leading Republican senatorial candidate, cross-filed on the Democratic ticket with the hope that he might pull conservative Democrats away from Boddy, since their political positions were similar. Nixon and his campaign strategist Murray Chotiner viewed Douglas as a far less threatening candidate than Boddy for the fall campaign. Nixon won more than 300,000 Democratic votes, which boosted his total over the million mark. If he could take most of Boddy's votes in the fall, he had an easy edge over Douglas.⁵⁴

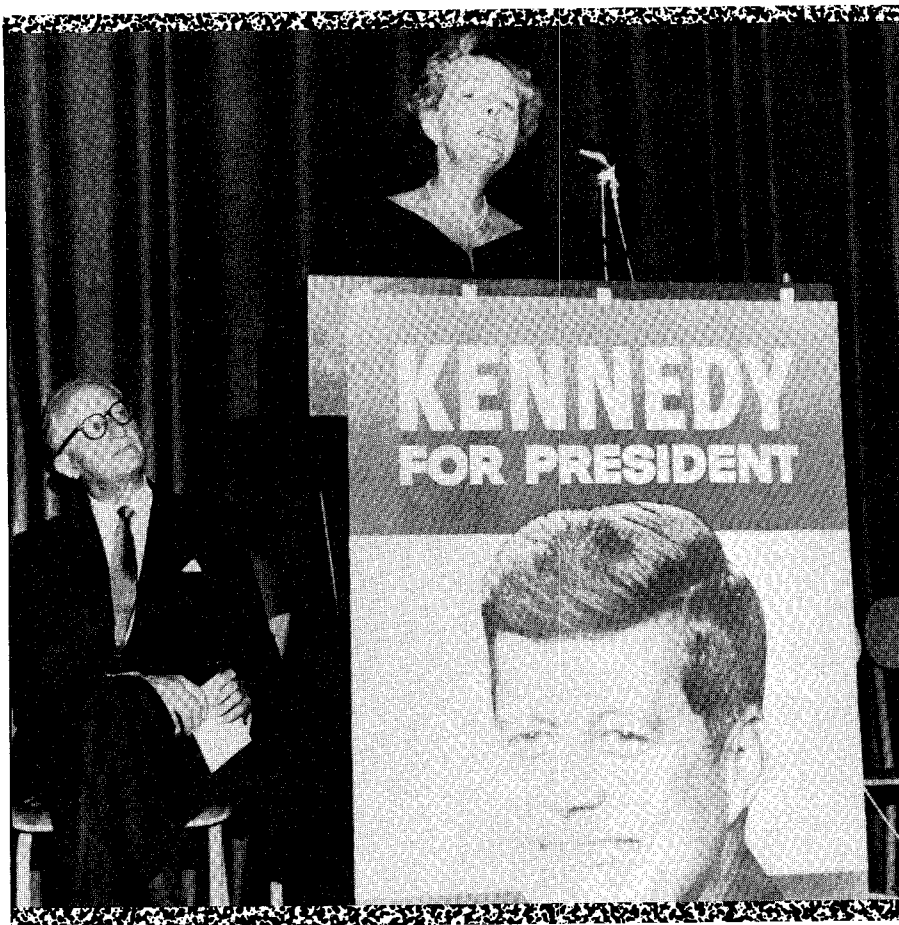
A member of the House since 1946, Nixon had attained significant national visibility as a member of HUAC, particularly in the committee's investigation of Alger Hiss and as the co-sponsor of the Mundt-

Nixon Communist control bill. Nixon and Douglas, as members of the southern California congressional delegation, had shared concerns over nonpartisan issues, but Douglas had developed considerable antipathy towards HUAC committee members, particularly Nixon. In 1946 he and Chotiner had conducted what Douglas and many others considered a ruthless redbaiting campaign against New Dealer Jerry Voorhis, Douglas's close friend and colleague.

Over the summer, Nixon and Chotiner decided to follow Boddy's lead and concentrate on Douglas's vulnerability on the issue of "red-blooded Americanism." Both domestic and foreign events fed this decision. Americans were up in arms about the so-called fall of China to communism, blaming it on Truman's incompetence. In early 1950 United States Senator Joseph McCarthy embarked on his search for American Communists. McCarthy's "revelations" heightened irrational fears about internal security and re-

sulted in a bipartisan Congress passing the Internal Security Act over Truman's veto with Douglas one of the few voting against the bill. In June, 1950, the Korean War began when Americans aided the South Koreans in their struggle against invading communist troops from North Korea. All these events made Nixon's dubbing of Douglas as the "Pink Lady" an effective device.

Nixon won the election by a margin of 2,200,000 to 1,500,000. Most commentators credited the victory to what they called a dirty and ruthless "red smear" campaign.⁵⁵ Other leading liberals who lost in redbaiting races that year included Senator Claude Pepper in the primary and senators John Carroll and Elbert Thomas, Senate majority leader Scott Lucas, and several other House members in the fall. Even without the "dirty campaign" issue, however, it seems clear that Nixon still had an edge on Douglas. Republicans swept most of the statewide California races—Earl Warren, for example, easily beat Jimmy Roose-



Although she never ran for office again, Douglas remained active in Democratic politics in the 1950s and 1960s. She campaigned for John F. Kennedy in 1960.

velt for governor without raising the cry of "Communist fellow-traveller." Nixon's position on issues such as taxation, government spending, labor, and farm policy more accurately reflected the general sentiment of Californians. Nixon matched Douglas's skill as a speaker; though their styles were different, Nixon could work a crowd as effectively as his opponent. The Republicans also profited from a substantial financial edge, particularly in the Nixon campaign, and from poor Democratic party organization. Nixon also had the luxury of many "Democrats for Nixon" campaign workers, many of whom had initially backed Downey and Boddy. One of the most effective organizers of this group was George Creel, a prominent member of Woodrow Wilson's administrations, who went beyond Nixon in his redbaiting. Finally, the fact that California had not elected a woman to high state-wide or national office for twenty years was cause enough for Douglas's loss.

Although Douglas later denied it, she believed into election night that she would win, despite all evidence to the contrary and the decline of her support around the state. Once the primary ended, her organization tended to melt away because many of those who viewed her as a more attractive alternative than Nixon saw her as a losing candidate and turned away to work for others. Even the numerous Washington luminaries, including Vice-president Alben W. Barkley and cabinet members Charles P. Brannan, J. Howard McGrath, and Oscar Chapman, who came to California principally to support Douglas, could not change what seemed a foregone conclusion.⁵⁶

Douglas had mixed feelings about her Senate loss. Winning would have thrust her into a very unusual spot for a political woman, but she also felt relieved. Although her marriage was still intact, the previous eight years had placed a strain on Helen's relationship with Melvyn and the children. Melvyn had spent

three years in India during the war. When he returned, he based himself in Los Angeles, but he also toured with several productions. The children, after several months with Helen in Washington at the beginning of her first term in Congress, attended boarding school in Los Angeles. In 1950 Helen knew it was critical to reassemble the family. She and Melvyn decided to make New York their home base as Melvyn had decided he wanted to leave movie production and return to the theatre. Helen also wanted to begin spending as much time as possible in Vermont at the family home in Fairlee.⁵⁷

Douglas never wielded significant political power in Congress; she could not make or break presidents or legislation. Yet she stood out among her colleagues as an idealist who spoke and stood for goals that more pragmatic politicians hesitated to embrace. She had a magic as a speaker, and her passionate appeals gave hope to the citizens she represented—not only those in her own district but "little people" around the country—that someone cared. It is unlikely that there will ever be a count of those for whom her inspiration tipped the balance between political involvement and apathy at a grassroots level. But the outpouring of expression which marked her death suggests that Helen Gahagan Douglas forged a durable legacy of political principle. CHS

See notes beginning on page 310.

The Italian painter Leonardo Barbieri has always seemed to be something of a phantom in the annals of California's art history. He arrived as if from nowhere in the late 1840s only to disappear a few years later. His legacy is an impressive series of portraits, the majority depicting members of prominent *Californio* families or Americans who married into those families. Over the years, various legends have circulated about Barbieri, few of which have been based on fact.

Bruce Kamerling

Generally, the story is told that the artist was brought to California from Mexico to paint the portraits of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention held in Monterey. After painting about a dozen portraits (none of which are of delegates to the Convention), he disappeared from the scene about 1853. Possibly he accompanied the French filibusterer Count Raousset-Boulbon on his ill-fated campaign to Sonora and met with the same fate as the count (Raousset-Boulbon was executed in 1854). As it now becomes apparent, not much of even this scant information is correct.¹

Recent research has revealed enough data to provide a clearer picture of Barbieri's life, although the story is still far from complete. The list of portraits done in California now contains over thirty names and includes members of the Carrillo, Castro, Estudillo, de la Guerra, and Pacheco families. Recently located and translated documents, including several letters from Barbieri to the Count de Monclar, shed new light on the artist and his activities.² What emerges is the story of an adventurous yet humble man who crossed three continents seeking, but never really finding, fame and fortune.

According to de Monclar, who knew Barbieri late in life, the artist was born in Savoy sometime around 1810.³ Many Italian artists have had the name Barbieri, and Leonardo is known to have had a brother who also studied art.⁴

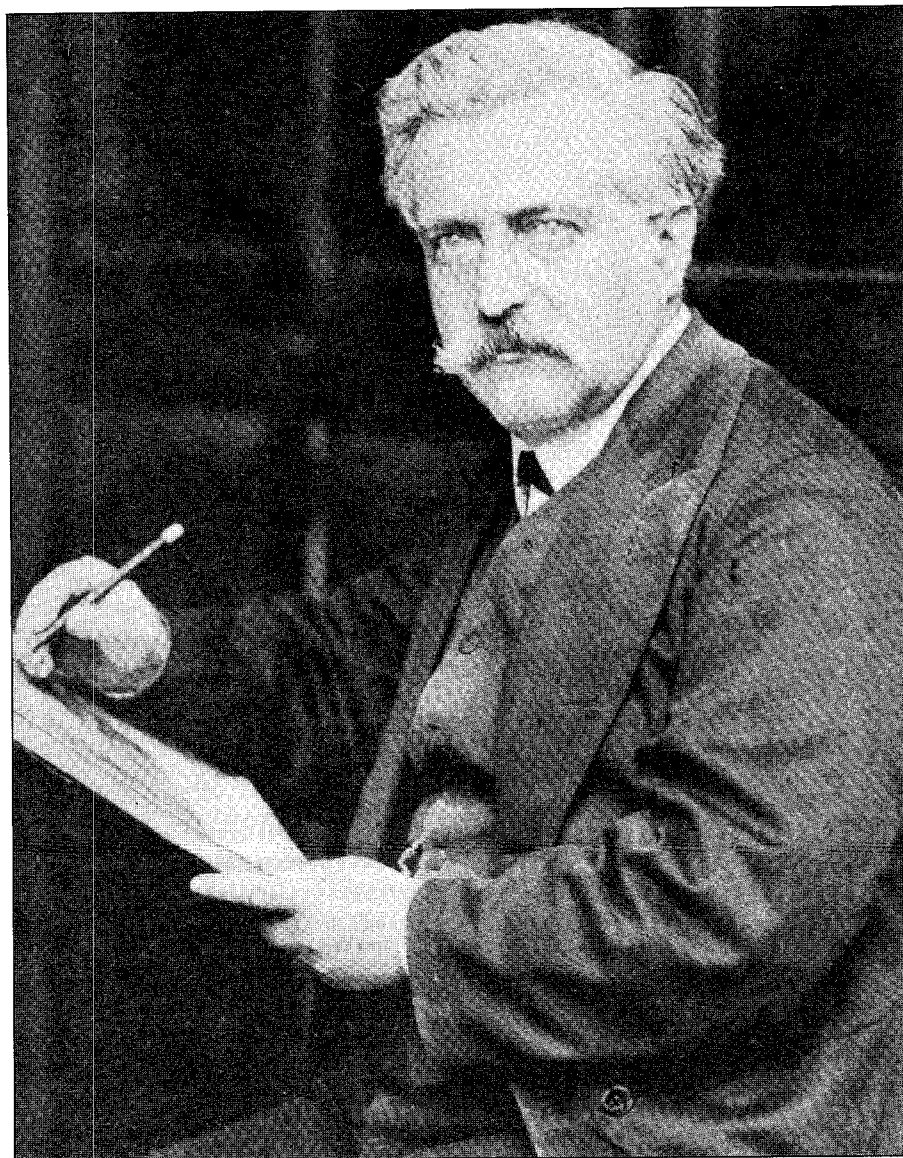
CALIFORNIA'S LEONARDO

The Portraits of Signor Barbieri

The most famous artist with this surname was the 17th century Bolognese painter Giovanni Francesco Barbieri (1591 - 1666), called "Il Guercino." So far, however, no connection has been established between Leonardo and any of these other artists.

The Duchy of Savoy was ruled by Italians until the battle of Marengo in 1800 when Napoleon annexed Savoy and Nice directly into France. After Napoleon's decisive defeat at Waterloo, the Congress of Vienna ordered the two provinces to be returned to the Italian Kingdom of Sardinia in 1815. These confusing political events provided the context in which the young artist was raised and educated, perhaps feeling ties to both Italy and France. Certainly he was fluent in both French and Italian, and eventually Spanish as well.⁵

The barrier formed by the Alps between Savoy on the western slope and Italy to the east may have contributed to Barbieri's decision to study art in Lyon rather than one of the centers in Italy. Whatever his reason for going there, while in Lyon the artist suffered some personal disappointment or humiliation that was serious enough to make him want to leave Europe completely.⁶ He departed for South America and by the fall of 1844 was recorded in Buenos Aires, Argentina, residing in the home of the Italian artist Sauveur Ottolenghi. *La Gaceta Mercantil* of October 14, 1844, announced that Barbieri made "portraits in oil in all sizes with complete resemblance to the model." Another announcement in March of 1845 mentions his ability to paint portraits, teach drawing, and produce "all types of paintings particularly of a religious nature for churches."⁷ How long Barbieri stayed in Argentina is not known, but de Monclar states that he also taught drawing at the university in La Paz, Bolivia, for a time. When word of the California gold strike reached him, however, Barbieri apparently left to seek new adventures.⁸



LEONARDO BARBIERI IN A CARTE-DE-VISITE PHOTOGRAPH PRESENTED BY THE ARTIST TO THE COUNT DE MONCLAR IN LIMA, PERU, 1870
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY





PORTRAIT OF ROSARIO ESTUDILLO AGUIRRE PAINTED IN SAN DIEGO, 1850
 PRIVATE COLLECTION, LOMPOC, CALIFORNIA



Like so many others, the artist discovered that gold was not so easily found as the extravagant stories would have it, and he soon returned to his easel to make a living. It has been claimed that Barbieri was commissioned to paint portraits of the forty-eight delegates to California's Constitutional Convention held in Monterey in September and October of 1849 and that this was even his reason for coming to California.⁹ Since no portraits by Barbieri of any participant in this convention have ever been located or even recorded, it seems doubtful that such a commission was actually made.

The first reference to Barbieri in California is in the San Francisco newspaper, *Alta California*, December 31, 1849, which reported:

We visited the studio of Signor Leonardo Barbieri [sic], an Italian artist who has established himself in San Francisco and were much pleased with the evidence of his talent. He has on hand several portraits of residents of this place and some of them most excellent likenesses. Among them is one of Edward H. Harrison, Esq., ex-collector of this port, who leaves for the United States on the 1st proximo. The friends of Mr. H. . . . solicited him to sit for his portrait and employed Sig. Barbieri to place him upon canvas. He has succeeded and the friends of Mr. H. will have an agreeable memento in their possession. We commend the artist to the patronage of the public.

Two additional notices in the same paper on January 2, 1850, state:

We would call attention to the advertisement of Sig. Leonardo Barbieri [sic] in another column, announcing his change of residence. We have already spoken in praise of the Signor's abilities as an artist and

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commend him to the consideration of the public.

Signor Barbieri has changed his residence from the house of Mr. Pendergrast to the building known as the Lafayette Restaurant, up stairs, where he will be happy to receive calls.

So far, none of Barbieri's portraits from this early period have been located, and it may be that they fell victim to one of the fires that often ravaged San Francisco.

The earliest known dated portrait by Barbieri is his likeness of Rosario Estudillo Aguirre done in San Diego in 1850. Rosario's husband, José Antonio Aguirre, was a prosperous merchant and rancher. Aguirre is known to have been in San Francisco in 1849 on business with his partner William Heath Davis. Don Antonio must have seen some of Barbieri's work while in San Francisco and asked the artist to paint his wife. Aguirre returned to San Diego in 1850 with his partner Davis when they and four associates attempted to start a "New Town" closer to San Diego's bay.

The portrait of Rosario was probably painted in the Casa de Estudillo as the Aguirre home was not completed until at least a year later.¹⁰ According to family tradition, the artist stayed with the family and received \$500.00 for his work. Doña Rosario is depicted as a lovely young lady of twenty-two, seated in an armchair and holding a fan. The artist has paid special attention to her costume and jewelry such as the long gold chain around her neck, bracelet set with a cameo, embroidered mitts, and rings. The sitter's face is animated by the slightest hint of a smile, making the portrait one of Barbieri's most charming.

Another portrait which must date to this same period is the apparently unsigned likeness of María de Jesús Estudillo, wife of William Heath Davis and cousin of Rosario Aguirre.¹¹ Like Rosario, Doña María is depicted seated in an armchair and holding a fan. She



PORTRAIT OF MARIA DE JESUS ESTUDILLO, CA. 1850
COURTESY, THE BANCROFT LIBRARY





PORTRAIT OF LT. THOMAS W. SWEENEY
 SAN DIEGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY



is wearing embroidered mitts identical to those worn by Rosario, and both paintings are exactly the same size. Davis was in San Diego in 1850, and it seems likely that he would have had his wife accompany him, since she had relatives in San Diego and was particularly close to Rosario. It is also possible that Doña María had been painted earlier in San Francisco, where Aguirre could have seen the painting of Rosario and been inspired to have his own wife portrayed.

While in San Diego, Barbieri may also have been the author of a bust-length portrait of Lt. Thomas "Fighting Tom" Sweeny. The lieutenant arrived from Monterey on April 8, 1849, and some time later quartered with the U.S. Army troops stationed at the San Diego Mission. Since he did not leave the area until October of the following year, he would have been in San Diego at the same time as the artist.¹² After extensive recent conservation, this painting now appears to be stylistically close to other early portraits by Barbieri, the major difference being in the pose. Nearly all of the artist's subjects are depicted three-quarter length, seated before a monochromatic background, with both hands showing. Lt. Sweeny had lost his right arm in the war with Mexico, and this may have been the reason for the smaller format. Shown in a dark blue uniform with high collar, epaulettes, and silver buttons against a dull-green background, the sitter displays a rosey-cheeked boyish face which belies the fact that he was a stern disciplinarian who was later court-martialed for use of excessive force in controlling his troops.

When next we hear of Signor Barbieri, he has set up a studio in the Carrillo Adobe in Santa Barbara for the three summer months of 1850. Although several portraits of Carrillo family members are known, the only one dated 1850 is the likeness of Don José Antonio Julián de la Guerra y Noriega, husband of María

Antonio Carrillo. Don José is depicted seated with one hand on the arm of his chair and the other tucked into his dark green jacket with black velvet trim. A small cap rests on his head. The portrait is firmly painted, and its stern facial expression is appropriate to this patriarch who was twice *commandante* of the Presidio of Santa Barbara.

At least two other Carrillo family portraits, neither of which is signed or dated, appear to belong to the summer of 1850. One of these depicts María Josepha Raymundo Castro y Romero, wife of Carlos Antonio Carrillo. She is shown wearing a close-fitting black hat and shawl fastened with a pin of clustered pearls, and her hands are clasped over a handkerchief in her lap. The second painting is a likeness of Judge Joaquín Carrillo, nephew of Carlos Antonio Carrillo and godson of José de la Guerra y Noriega.

Although he spoke no English, Joaquín was named first District Judge of Southern California in 1850 because of his fine record. His direct gaze and formal attire fortify his image as prominent judge and prosperous rancher.

A fourth Santa Barbara portrait which survives in fragmentary condition depicts Ramona de los Angeles Lorenzana. Although only the face, neck, and upper portion of the dress survive from Barbieri's original, the treatment is very similar to the portraits of Rosario Aguirre and María Estudillo, indicating an early date. We can assume that the original followed Barbieri's usual format of a three-quarter length figure seated with both hands showing. As it now exists, the remaining fragment has been inserted into a larger bust-length canvas and inpainted to diminish the damage. Ramona's thin headband, jewel and teardrop earrings, and pearl necklace with pendant provide clues to the portrait's original detail.

In the fall of 1850, the people of Santa Barbara asked Barbieri to paint Father José Gonzales Rubio of the Santa Barbara Mission. Rubio had arrived in California in 1833 and was initially as-



PORTRAIT OF JOAQUIN CARRILLO, 1850
SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



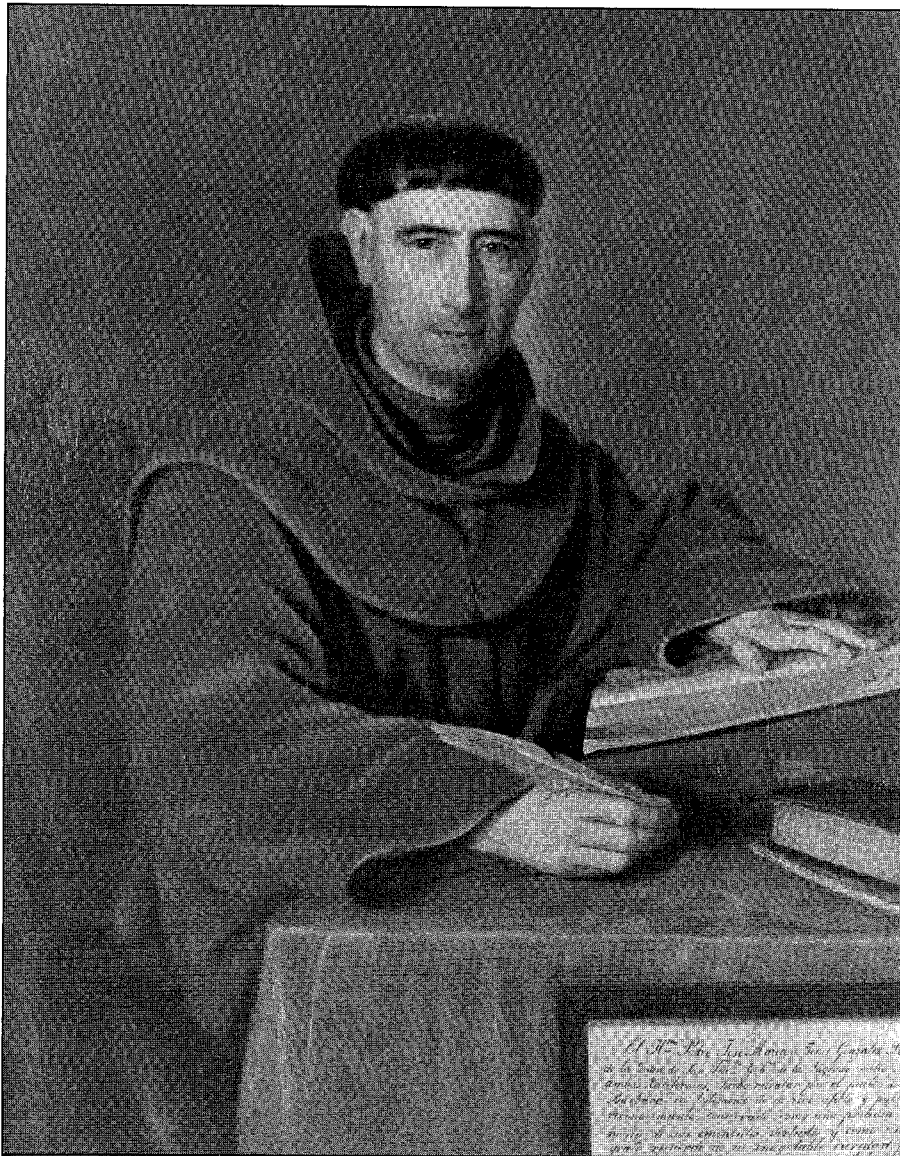
signed to Mission San José. In 1842 he was reassigned to Santa Barbara, where in addition to serving as parish priest he became in 1850 administrator of the Diocese and vicar general. Today the Mission Archives contain the original document, dated September 25, 1850, which lists the names of all the donors who contributed toward the \$300.00 Barbieri asked for the portrait. On this list are the names of at least four people who also sat for Barbieri portraits.¹³

Father Rubio is depicted in the habit and tonsure of the Franciscan order. He is seated at a cloth-covered table holding a quill pen in his beautifully painted right hand. His left hand rests on an open book, the spine of which is inscribed with the artist's signature. The priest's rich brown eyes are full of intensity and compassion. In the lower corner is the painted inscription in Spanish:

*The Most Illustrious Father José María de Jesús Gonzales Rubio of the Franciscan Order, Ruler of the Diocese of Both Californias, which the people of Santa Barbara had painted in testimony of their warm affection and public appreciation and which is to be preserved as a precious memorial of his eminent virtues and as a grateful memento of his unquenchable charity towards the poor and his love for everyone.*¹⁴

No Barbieri portraits dated 1851 have come to light, and the artist drops from view for over a year. Some sources claim that Barbieri painted in Sonoma, but so far no works have been located so dates cannot be checked.¹⁵ It seems likely that he returned to the San Francisco Bay area, for a signed portrait of General Guillermo Castro dated 1852 exists; it may have been started late in 1851.

Castro owned the extensive Rancho San Lorenzo Alto in the valley north of Mission San Jose now occupied by the city of Hayward. Besides his career as soldier and rancher, Castro was also a judge, politician, and, unfortunately, gambler. We can assume that the portrait was painted early in 1852, because



PORTRAIT OF PADRE JOSE GONZALES RUBIO, 1850
SANTA BARBARA MISSION



in that year Castro lost most of his fortune in a high-stakes card game. Seated in a blue jacket holding a cigar, Castro displays soft, almost sad, eyes accentuated by a long aristocratic nose and generous sideburns.

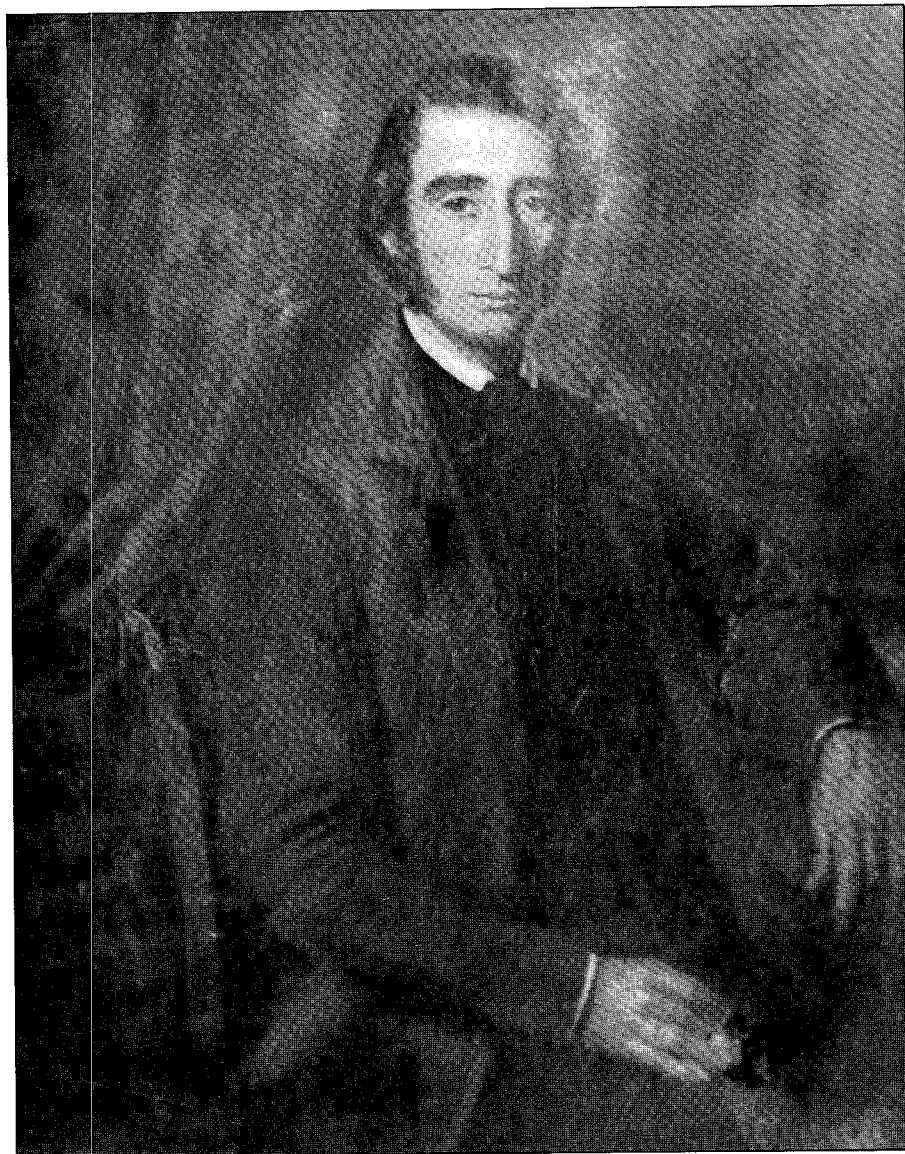
A letter from Henry Halleck in San Francisco to Pablo de la Guerra in Santa Barbara dated January 29, 1852, states:

*Mr. Barbieri has this morning paid the sum of fifty dollars on your Note and Mr. Joe Thompson has promised to pay the other hundred as soon as he is informed that Mr. Barbieri has painted a portrait of Don Carlos Carrillo. Mr. B goes down in the steamer today and is the bearer of this.*¹⁶

The nature of Barbieri's debt to de la Guerra is not specified in this or subsequent correspondence, but it was completely paid by March 17.¹⁷ We do know from this letter that by early February Barbieri must have been back in Santa Barbara to paint the portrait of Carlos Antonio Carrillo, whose wife he had already depicted. Don Carlos was a highly regarded scholar and politician, holding the office of Governor of California in 1837. His fancy black hat and jacket stand out against the dull red background, and the pleated shirt, generous sideburns, and cigar-ette held in his right hand add a distinguished air to this portrait, painted in the last year of the sitter's life.

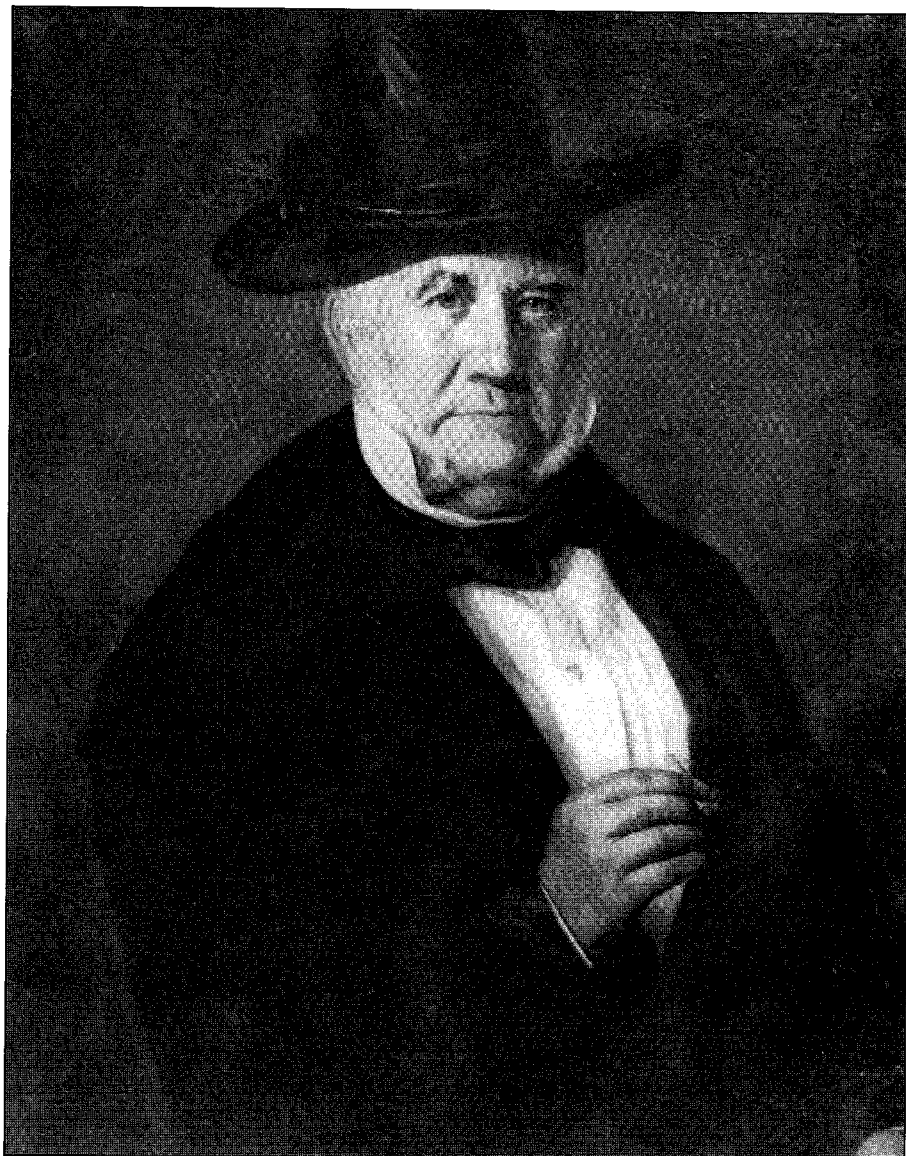
Barbieri spent the remainder of 1852 in Monterey, where he produced a remarkable number of portraits. Although several of these are undated, they were probably all painted in 1852 or early in 1853. All but two of the Monterey portraits presently known fall into four family groups. Apparently, as was the case in San Diego and Santa Barbara, Barbieri took up residence with a family and produced portraits of several of its members.

One family which was the subject of four presently known portraits is the Munras/McKee family. It seems likely that other portraits from this family may once have existed, as the 1850 census shows that the household con-



PORTRAIT OF GUILLERMO CASTRO, 1852
HAYWARD AREA HISTORICAL SOCIETY





PORTRAIT OF CARLOS ANTONIO CARRILLO, 1852
 SANTA BARBARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY



sisted of thirteen people. Catalina Manzanelli de Munras was the wife of Esteban Carlos Munras, patriarch of the family, who had died in 1850. Doña Catalina was portrayed seated with hands folded in her lap, her right hand holding a white handkerchief. The severity of her black dress and black lace shawl are set off by a string of cut jet beads, gold filigree earrings, and several gold finger rings with diamonds and pearls.

Dr. William McKee, who had an office on Alvarado Street in Monterey, married Concepcion Munras, eldest daughter of Catalina and Esteban Munras, and lived with the Munras family. The companion portraits of the McKees can now be seen in the Munras room at Mission San Carlos Borromeo in Carmel. Both subjects are seated, she facing toward the right, he toward the left. Concepcion, wearing a long gold chain around her neck, is holding a book in her right hand; her left arm rests on a wooden shelf. William is seated at a table writing with a quill pen, and his left hand holds a cigar.

The McKees had two children, and there is a portrait of Roberto McKee. Barbieri's only known painting of a child, it is unusual for several reasons. The corners of the canvas have been painted to give the appearance of an oval mat. It is also the only known Barbieri work where the subject is shown standing and outdoors; a vague hilly landscape can be seen in the background. Young Roberto is dressed in a green outfit with red braid trim and a white collar with ruffled edge. In his right hand the child holds a toy riding crop, while the left holds a green ribbon, presumably attached to a toy horse he is pulling.

A second group of Monterey portraits centers around the Amesti family. Out of what may have originally been five or six paintings, three survive. José Amesti was a prominent merchant and rancher whose two-story adobe is a Monterey landmark, now owned by the National Trust for Historic Preserva-

tion. Although the paintings are currently not available for viewing, photographs taken while they were on loan to the Old Custom House in Monterey many years ago reveal the likenesses of Don José, his wife Prudenciana, daughter of Ignacio Vallejo, and their daughter Celedonia Amesti de Arano.¹⁸

The companion portraits of Don José and Prudenciana are penetrating character studies, remarkable for their simplicity. With hands resting on his legs, José engages the viewer with an open gaze and a slight smile beneath his long Spanish nose. One can sense the presence of a shrewd businessman. Prudenciana's face, on the other hand, appears tired and care-worn. She looks uncomfortable sitting on the side of a chair with her left arm resting on the chair back and her right hand holding a handkerchief in her lap. Prudenciana barely survived the birth of her first child, and for the remainder of her life suffered from a hunched back. Certainly sitting for the portrait must have been an ordeal, and Barbieri has masterfully captured her inner strength.

Celedonia's portrait appears from the photograph to survive in poor condition. She is seated facing toward the left, her right hand resting on an open book, a string of beads around her neck. The hint of a smile perhaps reflects her recent marriage to Francisco Arano. It has been reported that Barbieri also painted the Amestis' other daughters, Carmen, Epitacia (Santa), and Tomasa Madariga, the orphaned child of Prudenciana's sister, who had been adopted by the Amestis. These paintings were in such poor condition that they were discarded many years ago.¹⁹

The largest surviving group of family portraits by Barbieri are the seven he painted for the Pacheco/Malarín family. Six of the seven were dated, five to 1852 and one to 1853, indicating that they were probably begun in the later months of 1852. Francisco Pérez Pacheco was one of the region's weal-



PORTRAIT OF ROBERTO MCKEE, 1852
PRIVATE COLLECTION, DUBLIN, OHIO





PORTRAIT OF JOSE GALO AMESTI, 1852
 COURTESY, MONTEREY HISTORY AND ART ASSOCIATION



thiest rancheros. Don Francisco is seated dressed in a black jacket and tan vest, his right hand on his leg and his left resting on a small table holding a book with green binding and gold decoration. His wife, Feliciana Gonzáles y Torres Pacheco, is seated with hands folded in her lap and, like the other family matriarchs depicted by Barbieri, she holds a white handkerchief. A double string of pearls is partially hidden by a figured black net collar, and she wears a gold pin and rings as well as a small black cap.

Don Francisco and Doña Felician had eight children, three of whom survived childhood to be painted by Barbieri. Juan Pérez Pacheco was the owner of Rancho San Luis Gonzaga. Seated with his left arm resting on the back of a chair and his right hand on his leg, Juan is dressed in a white shirt with black jacket, vest and tie. His ruddy, handsome face, with piercing brown eyes, is framed by curly hair and chin whiskers. His sister, María Encarnación Teodora Pacheco, is seated in a red velvet dress with embroidered white net collar and cuffs.

A second daughter, María Isidora (Lola) Pacheco, married Joseph Mariano Pablo Malarín, a wealthy rancher who served as judge, coroner, supervisor and member of the assembly. Isadora wears a purple velvet dress with white sleeves and white lace collar and cuffs. Her right arm rests on a small table, and in her left hand she holds a piece of sheet music inscribed with the artist's signature and date. Barbieri's eye for realism carried even to the slight shadow of a moustache on the sitter's upper lip. Mariano's right arm rests on a table draped in blue that is stacked with books and a mounted globe, perhaps indicating his education in Peru. For some unknown reason, Barbieri has painted a *trompe-l'oeil* fly on the sitter's right hand.²⁰

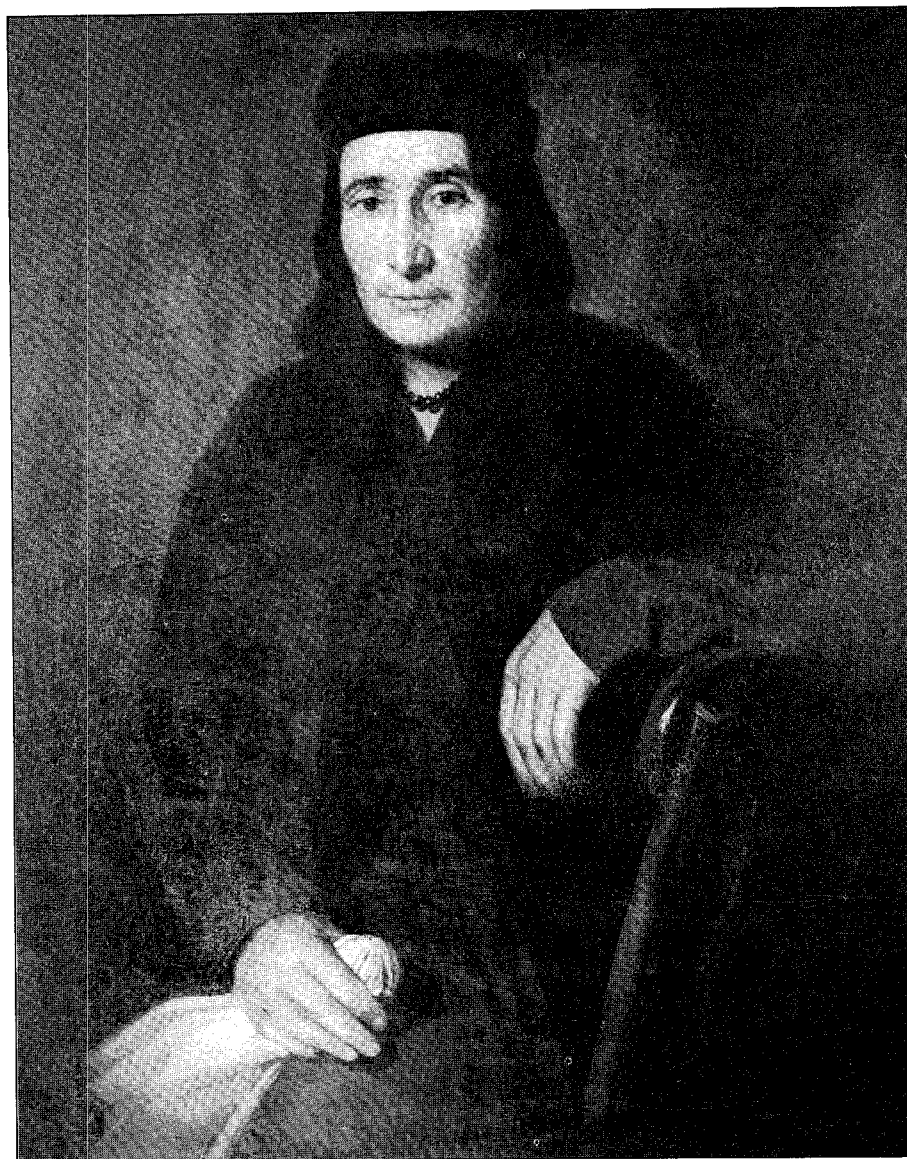
The final portrait in this group depicts Mariano's mother, María Josepha Joaquina Estrada Malarín, and is dated 1853. Doña Josepha was the wife of

Juan Malarín who had died in 1849. Her plump face is framed by two pairs of perfect log-curls and a small cap, with a string of pearls around her neck. She is wearing an elaborately pleated black silk dress with black net sleeves. Both hands are in her lap, her left hand holding some white flowers.

Apparently it was also in 1853 that Barbieri painted the portraits of William E.P. Hartnell, grantee of Alisal Rancho and first inspector of the Custom House in Monterey, and his wife, Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell.²¹ Barbieri had painted Doña Teresa's father, José de la Guerra y Noriega, in Santa Barbara in 1850. Doña Teresa appears wrapped in black satin wearing a small cap and string of pearls, her arms crossed in her lap. William rests the knuckles of his left hand against his leg while his right hand, resting on a table, grasps a scroll of paper.

Two isolated portraits also belong to Barbieri's Monterey period and should be mentioned here. One of these was the likeness of María Ignacia Bonifacio dressed in a red velvet gown. María was the daughter of Juan B. Bonifacio who, before his death in the 1830s, had been employed by William Hartnell. Sadly for today's art historians, at the sitter's request, the painting was unframed and placed in her coffin when she was buried in 1916.²² The second portrait has the distinction of being the only known Barbieri portrait of an Anglo woman. Born in England, Mrs. Jane Bushton Allen came to Monterey via Australia in 1850. In order to support her children from two marriages, she operated a boarding house, and it is probable that Barbieri painted her portrait in exchange for room and board. Dressed in black with her right arm resting on a draped table, Jane, her hair pulled tightly back in the fashion of the time, gazes out with a look of firm determination.

After finishing the portrait commissions in Monterey, Barbieri may have returned to San Francisco before leaving California forever. Why he left is not



PORTRAIT OF PRUDENCIANA VALLEJO AMESTI, 1852
COURTESY, MONTEREY HISTORY AND ART ASSOCIATION





PORTRAIT OF JANE BUSTON ALLEN, CA. 1852-53
 MONTEREY HISTORY AND ART ASSOCIATION,
 PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY MONTEREY HERALD



known, but by July of 1853 he had taken a steamer to Acapulco.²³ From there he traveled to Mexico City in the company of Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon. Whether Barbieri had known Raousset-Boulbon in San Francisco is uncertain, but by the time they reached Mexico City, they were good friends. Both men stayed at the same hotel, La Grande Sociedad, and the two Europeans shared artistic interests.²⁴

In the last months of 1853, Barbieri painted a bust-length portrait of the count. Barbieri's own description of Raousset-Boulbon best describes the image in this painting:

*His character was jovial; nevertheless you could feel something was wrong, a quiet sadness that on several occasions made me worry, and I used to ask him if I could help him, and he used to answer: I'm satiated of life, I have enjoyed too much in my youth ruining myself. I search for amusements, emotions and I don't find them, everything is monotonous and repetitious.*²⁵

Barbieri admirably succeeded in capturing this complex personality, even though he later wrote:

*How could I, a simple peasant [serrano], express his character with my weak brush? Only a genius such as Titian or Raphael could have managed . . .*²⁶

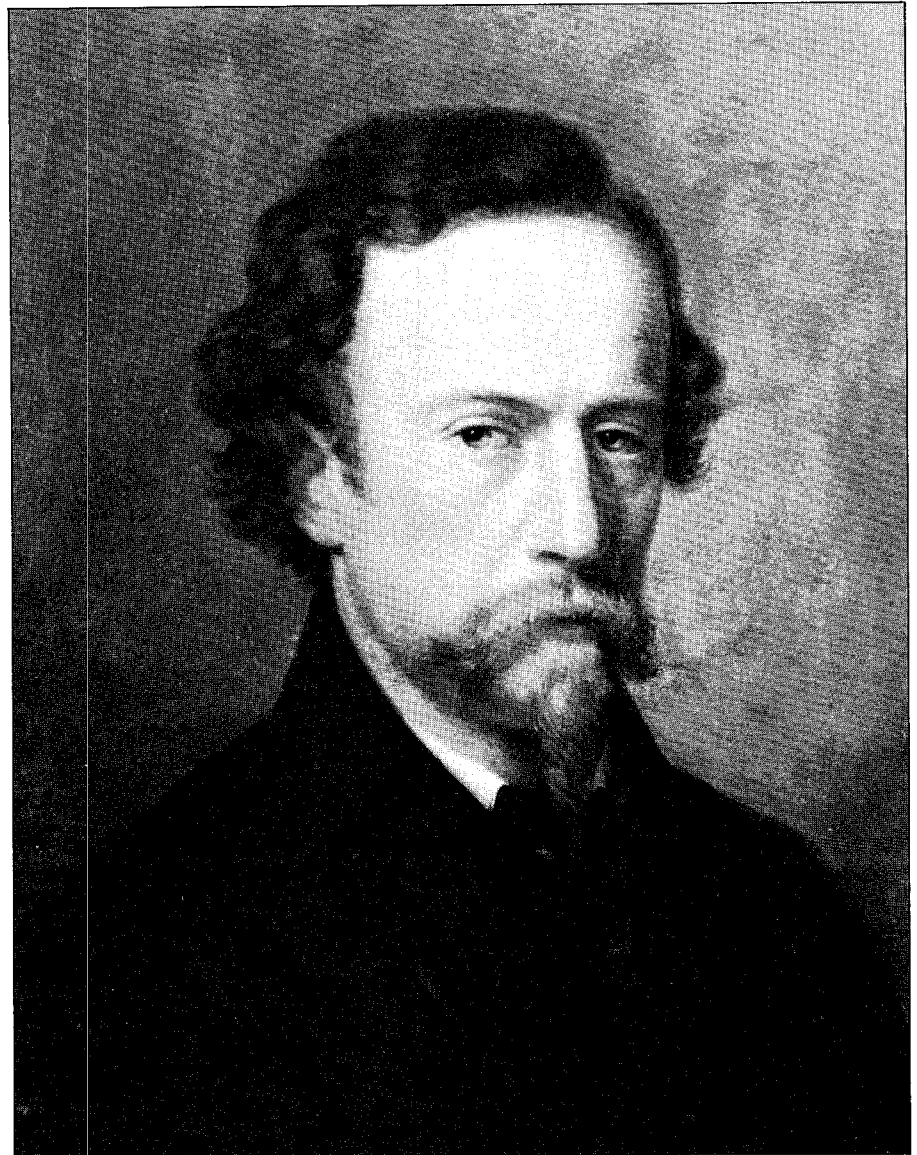
Mexico was still in chaos from the war with the United States. The Americans had failed to prevent the incursions of raiding Apaches into Sonora as promised, and customs revenues had been greatly reduced by smuggling. The Mexican government's precarious financial situation resulted in almost total abandonment of protection for the northern frontier. Raousset-Boulbon developed a plan to settle Sonora in exchange for sharing mineral rights in the gold-rich state, but president Antonio López de Santa Ana was becoming suspicious of the French and began to stall in accepting Raousset-Boulbon's plan. Angered by what he felt was a broken agreement, Raousset-Boulbon and his men set out for Guaymas, the

port of Sonora, where on July 13, 1854, they staged an ill-fated attack. Called a hero by the French and a pirate by the Mexicans, Raousset-Boulbon was taken prisoner and executed on August 13, 1854.²⁷

Although de Monclar later referred to Barbieri as a lieutenant in Raousset-Boulbon's *petit armée*, it is not known if the artist was actually with Raousset-Boulbon at Guaymas. In January, 1854, José Abrego of Monterey wrote to Pablo de la Guerra in Santa Barbara, mentioning that Malarín had received a letter from Barbieri who was in Acapulco at the time.²⁸ Due to the unstable political and economic situation in Mexico, Barbieri probably did not remain long in that country, and if he was indeed with Raousset-Boulbon at Guaymas, he may have been forced to leave.

Barbieri's lean trail of clues next places him in Peru, where a drawing from his hand of the Andes Mountains is dated May 18, 1856.²⁹ By January, 1860, he had opened an academy of painting and drawing, the only one of its kind in Lima. There was no tuition for the poor, and those who could afford it were charged ten pesos a month.³⁰ Barbieri's first students were all non-paying, but this did not discourage him. He even approached the government with a plan to start a Free Public Academy.³¹

In order to kindle some interest in the arts and call attention to the artists of Peru, Barbieri proposed a collective exhibition of paintings, the first ever to be held in Lima. Although he received little encouragement from official sources, Barbieri was allowed to use two leaky rooms in the ancient convent of San Pedro. Assisted by the Peruvian artists Montero and Laso, Barbieri was able to bring together fifty-eight paintings and numerous objects of local craftsmanship. The exhibit opened on August 7, 1860, and remained on view for twenty days, receiving excellent reviews. Barbieri exhibited nine of his own portraits, including one of his black servant, shown cleaning brushes



PORTRAIT OF COUNT GASTON DE RAOUSSET-BOULBON, 1853
CHS ART AND ARTIFACTS COLLECTION



and preparing colors, which was considered to be particularly excellent.³²

Barbieri apparently stayed in Peru for more than ten years, teaching and painting portraits to support himself. Among his students were the Peruvian artists Federico del Campo (1837 - 1914), José Effio (1840 - 1900?), and Daniel Hernández (1856 - 1932), who took charge of Barbieri's classes when the artist returned to Europe.³³ In 1863, Barbieri became a professor of drawing at the Colegio Nacional de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.³⁴ It was while he was in Peru that Barbieri met the Count de Monclar, who was attached to the French Embassy in Lima. In later correspondence, Barbieri refers to Monclar's wife as his "friend and pupil," so she must have taken instruction from him at some time.³⁵

Barbieri's dream of a municipal school finally became a reality about 1870, and he was named Head Director and given authority to appoint professors.³⁶ Unfortunately, it came too late. From Barbieri's letters we learn that his final years in Peru were marred by poverty and ill health. In total discouragement, he wrote:

... the present is the most pitiful situation I've ever lived in my life, poor, with miserable revenue, and so you see me without servants, without furniture, without work and without talent.

He continued:

... I'm only waiting for the money in order to make the trip to regain my health, waiting for months in the same condition, vegetating, suffering and my illness getting worse ...

And, finally:

... I, completely lost physically and morally, I only want to put an end to this mournful life because there is no longer help for me anymore, my life doesn't belong to me.³⁷

It appears from the surviving correspondence that both Barbieri and de Monclar returned to France in 1871.

France at this time was in the midst of a major political crisis that saw its defeat at the hands of the Prussians, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, and the birth of the Third Republic. A letter from Barbieri to Madame de Monclar dated February 17, 1871, inquires about her father in Paris and asks if the "damned Prussians" respected their houses.

The Barbieri letters are somewhat confusing, parts of them written in Spanish, French, and Italian, because, as he wrote, "I like the variety, even in the furniture!!!"³⁸ Two final letters are dated December 21 and 29, 1871, the latter sent from Paris. In them, Barbieri stated that his health had returned, and that every day he was growing a bit more corpulent (*panciuto*; literally "big-bellied"). He also mentions his intention to leave for Froustignon after the first of the year. Barbieri's brother had married the daughter of a businessman at Froustignon, and de Monclar records that Barbieri stayed with the couple for "some months" before returning to die in his native village in Savoy. Presumably he died there some time in 1872 or 1873.

Leonardo Barbieri was one of the first professionally trained artists to produce a significant body of work in California.³⁹ Although he was in California for less than four years, Barbieri's portraits are almost the only contemporary visual record, by an artist possessing both insight and ability, of the players in one of the most dramatic periods of California's history. Not only did he capture the features of his subjects with realism and compassion, without stooping to flattery, he also preserved a wealth of important details of costume, jewelry, furniture, hair styles, and even mourning customs, since many of his sitters were recently widowed and dressed in black mourning clothes. His ability to grasp and portray the inner character of his sitters is ably demonstrated by the penetrating likenesses of Father Rubio, Juan Pacheco, José and Prudenciana Amesti, and Count Raousset-Boulbon, among

others. Perhaps even more remarkable, of the nearly thirty portraits presently known to have been painted by Barbieri, there is not a single one with an unidentified sitter. Such care indicates that his work was revered by the descendants of those portrayed for many generations. [CHS]

Known Portraits by (or here attributed to) Leonardo Barbieri

Note: All dimensions are in inches, height x width.

Edward H. Harrison

present location unknown

Rosario Estudillo Aguirre (1828 - 1895)

oil on fabric, 32 x 26

signed and dated 1850

private collection, Lompoc, California
illustrated in:

Exhibition of Historic Art, catalogue,
California Centennial Celebration,
San Diego, 1950

Mary Haggland "Don Jose Antonio Aguirre: Spanish Merchant and Ranchero"

Journal of San Diego History, XXIX: 1
(Winter, 1983), 58

María de Jesús Estudillo (1829 - 1906)

oil on fabric, 32 x 26

The Bancroft Library, Berkeley,
California

illustrated in:

Edwin A. Beilharz, *San Jose, California's First City* (San Jose: Continental Heritage Press, 1980), p. 55

Lt. Thomas W. Sweeny (1820 - 1892)

oil on fabric, 26 x 22

San Diego Historical Society

illustrated in:

Norman Neuerburg, and Iris W. Engstrand *Early California Reflections* catalogue #112, San Juan Capistrano Regional Library, 1986

José de la Guerra y Noriega (1779 - 1858)

oil on fabric, 34 x 25

signed and dated 1850

Santa Barbara Historical Society

illustrated in:

Fr. Joseph A. Thompson, O.F.M. *El Gran Capitan*, (Los Angeles: Franciscan Fathers of California

- Corporation, Cabrera & Sons, 1961),
facing title page
- María Josepha Raymundo Castro y Romero* (1792 - 1853)
oil on fabric, 34 x 25
Santa Barbara Historical Society
- Joaquín Carrillo* (1813 - 1868)
oil on fabric, 34 x 27
Santa Barbara Historical Society
- illustrated in:
Noticias, 3: 2 (Apr. - Dec., 1957), 4
- Ramona de los Angeles Lorenzana* (1828 - 1904)
oil on fabric, original fragment
approximately 15 x 6 now set into a
larger canvas 20 x 16 and inpainted by
Helmer Ericson
Santa Barbara Historical Society
- Padre José Gonzales Rubio* (1804 - 1875)
oil on fabric, 39 x 31
signed and dated 1850
Mission Santa Barbara
- illustrated in:
Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, Monograph Series, Vol. 3, 1955), p. 125
- Thompson, *El Gran Capitan*, facing page 218
- Guillermo Castro* (b. 1810)
oil on fabric, 32 x 26
signed and dated 1852
Hayward Area Historical Society
- Carlos Antonio Carrillo* (1783 - 1852)
oil on fabric, 34 x 26
signed
Santa Barbara Historical Society
- illustrated in:
Noiticias, IX: 2 (Summer, 1963), 25
- Catalina Manzanelli Munras* (1798 - 1894)
oil on fabric, 34 x 22
private collection, Dublin, Ohio
- Dr. William McKee*
oil on fabric, 39 x 33
Munras Room, Mission San Carlos Borromeo
- Concepcion Munras McKee* (1823 - 1914)
oil on fabric, 39 x 33
Munras Room, Mission San Carlos Borromeo
- Roberto McKee* (b. ca. 1848)
oil on fabric, 24 x 29
private collection, Dublin, Ohio
- José Galo Amesti* (1788 - 1855)
present location unknown
- Prudenciana Vallejo Amesti* (1805 - 1883)
present location unknown
- illustrated in:
Antiques Magazine, November, 1953: 37
- Celedonia Amesti Arano* (1828 - 1915)
present location unknown
- Francesco Perez Pacheco* (1790 - 1860)
oil on fabric, 40 x 32
signed and dated 1852
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- illustrated in:
Albert Shumate, *Mariano Malarín: A Life that Spanned Two Cultures* (Cupertino: California History Center, 1980), p. 3
- Albert Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco Pass*, (Stockton: University of the Pacific, 1977), facing title page
- Feliciana Gonzáles y Torres Pacheco* (ca. 1798 - 1857)
oil on fabric, 40 x 32
signed and dated 1852
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- illustrated in:
Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco Pass*, facing page 1
- Juan Pérez Pacheco* (1823 - 1855)
oil on fabric, 40 x 32
signed and dated 1852
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- María Encarnación Teodora Pacheco* (1826 - 1857)
oil on fabric, 40 x 32
signed and dated 1852
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- María Isidora (Lola) Pacheco Malarín* (1829 - 1892)
oil on fabric, 40 x 32
signed and dated 1852
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- illustrated in:
Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco Pass*, facing page 28
- Joseph Mariano Pablo Malarín* (1827 - 1895)
oil on fabric, 40 x 32
signed and dated 1852
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- illustrated in:
Shumate, *Francisco Pacheco of Pacheco Pass*, facing page 14
- María Josepha Joaquina Estrada Malarín* (b. 1808)
oil on fabric, 35 x 27
signed and dated 1853
de Saisset Museum, University of Santa Clara
- William Edward Petty Hartnell* (1798 - 1854)
present location unknown
- illustrated in:
Susanna Bryant Dakin, *The Lives of William, Hartnell* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), facing title page
- Teresa de la Guerra Hartnell* (b. 1809)
present location unknown
- illustrated in:
Dakin, *The Lives of William Hartnell*
- María Ignacia Bonifacio* (d. 1916)
painting buried with the sitter
- Jane Bushton Allen* (ca. 1813 - 1904)
oil on fabric, 34 x 26
Casa Serrano, Monterey History and Art Association
- illustrated in:
Monterey Herald, February 17, 1981
- Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon* (1817 - 1854)
oil on fabric, 19 x 15
signed and dated 1853
California Historical Society
- illustrated in:
Helen Broughall Metcalf "The California French Filibusters in Sonora" *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII: 1 (March, 1939), 2
- Museo Italo Americano *Italian-American Artists in California 1850 to 1925*, (San Francisco, no date).
- Reports that Barbieri painted portraits of Francisco de Haro and family are probably erroneous as Don Francisco died in 1848.
- See notes beginning on page 314.

THE PHILANTHROPIST AND THE ARTIST

THE LETTERS OF
PHOEBE A. HEARST TO ORRIN M. PECK

Richard H. Peterson

In 1862, Phoebe Apperson Hearst was on her way to San Francisco as the young pregnant wife of millionaire miner and later United States Senator George Hearst.¹ On the boat trip via Panama to California, she began a friendship with Mrs. David Peck and her young son Orrin. She was especially taken with the two-year-old boy, with whom she eventually developed a strong personal bond and lifelong correspondence. In effect, he became a member of the famous Hearst family.²

Peck also became a respected California artist, especially in San Francisco. However, he lived, studied, and worked much of the time in Munich, Germany, where he earned a reputation as an accomplished portrait and landscape painter.³ When World War I began, Peck returned permanently to San Francisco. A rotund, good-natured friend of Phoebe's only child, newspaper

magnate William Randolph Hearst, Peck was hired in 1920 to design the landscaping for the fabulous Hearst estate at San Simeon, California. His sudden death in 1921 denied him the opportunity to complete the project, but his portraits of George, Phoebe, and William Randolph and his son, George, remain as a legacy of his close personal and professional relationship with the Hearst family.⁴

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Peck and Mrs. Hearst kept in close communication. Indeed, she referred to herself on many occasions as his "Other Mother."⁵ Although the letters that she wrote contain references to such mundane matters as lost luggage, mutual friends, and shopping sprees, they also reveal much about the personal character, lifestyle, and philanthropic and cultural interests of one of California's most memorable women, who donated about \$21 mil-

lion to various individuals, charities, and educational institutions, many of which still bear her name.⁶ According to Gloria R. Lothrop, she is one of the women most frequently cited in California history.⁷ Yet, relatively little is known about her today and no scholarly biography has chronicled her public benefactions and personal activities.⁸ In a more general sense, the Hearst-Peck correspondence, including letters to Peck's sister and mother, at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in California typically shows how the super-rich lived in the Gilded Age and Progressive era.

Standard behavior for America's wealthy in this period included the socially obligatory grand tour of Europe. As early as the 1870s, Phoebe took an extensive trip abroad, tour-

Correspondence between Orrin Peck and Phoebe Hearst frequently used family terms of endearment.

Thomas Hotel
Berkeley Square
London
England
1100, New Hampshire Avenue April 27/95.

My dear other boy:-

We arrived this
afternoon about three
o'clock. and I was much
pleased to find a letter
from you waiting for me.

The voyage was rough,
cold and wet only one
fair day, but I slept
and rested and feel
much better than
when I started. This

evening I am a little
tired, as I woke up
three A.M. - when

1515 Santa Barbara St.
Santa Barbara.
[189?]?
Your second telegram
the other abouts of
starts just arrived
I answered it &
lay a kiting on
it to get it into
you must
have a letter or so
from me by this time -
Am very sorry you cannot
be here for Xmas - I wish
that you could come by
the Los Angeles route & we
could all have a jollification
in that town. (Sue A.)

Wm. J. Furber's people would
do up Xmas as many friends
as we could bring for Xmas

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ing museums, cathedrals, and art galleries with her ten-year-old son.⁹ On still many other occasions she travelled the continent, including visits with Peck in Munich. This she had to do alone or with relatives and friends other than her husband. As she wrote in 1885, "Mr. Hearst will never cross the ocean with us. Even if he should, he would disapprove of all that we might enjoy."¹⁰ Unlike many American elites of the era, Phoebe toured and enjoyed India, Egypt, and the Orient and seemed especially intrigued by Japan, as indicated in a 1903 letter to Peck from the Kanaya Hotel in Nikko, a resort town and center for both Shinto and Buddhist pilgrims in central Honshu Island:

*We came yesterday to this beautiful place among the mountains and expect to stay four days. I should like to stay a week at least but it is late in the season and the hotels close soon. The scenery is fine, and the autumn foliage wonderful, especially the maple is at its best. The little Japanese Princesses looked very small in European dress. They wore wonderful gowns and jewels. One was extremely pretty but it is dreadful that they should not dress in their own exquisite costumes. The Prince and high officials were gorgeous in gold embroidered coats and many decorations.*¹¹

The materialistic Mrs. Hearst was duly impressed with the embellishments of costume and dress. But she was also open-minded enough to appreciate the merits of other countries and culture in an age when

many Americans were not only deeply nationalistic, but strongly nativistic. In California, in particular, Japanese immigrants suffered much discrimination with opportunities for naturalization, land ownership, and even immigration to the United States eventually denied.¹² Although Mrs. Hearst's positive perception may have been partially due to her association with local officials and elites rather than the working class abroad, including in Japan, she did not travel in a cocoon. After touring a poverty-stricken country like India, including teeming Bombay and Delhi, she wrote Orrin emphatically "that no description can do justice to the wonders of India."¹³

Despite some problems adjusting to unfamiliar living conditions, she even found roughing it in Egypt a worthy educational experience. In

1905, she wrote to Janet, Orrin's sister: "The air is very pure and good at the Pyramids and there is plenty of it. The views also are fine. It is most interesting to be there, but a bit uncomfortable at times. I don't at all mind living in mud and stone houses, but the lack of conveniences in such places are a little trying at times. However, it is all very good discipline and makes us appreciate home more than ever."¹⁴ From Cairo, in a letter to Orrin, she seemed ecstatic: "We saw a tomb opened where they found *two* statues. If you had seen me hanging over the edge of the place looking down to see the figures as they were uncovered, you might have thought it right to class me with excavators. I was more excited than any one."¹⁵ Notwithstanding some criticisms of foreign locations, it would certainly appear that



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Artist Orrin Peck as a young man. Phoebe Hearst became a friend of his mother's and took a special interest in Orrin when he was two. Eventually she contributed substantially to support the entire Peck family.

Phoebe Apperson Hearst.

and mothers perhaps everywhere. In her own son's case, she made available something approaching \$10 million to support his newspaper career and empire.²¹ A complaining letter from Paris to Orrin in 1899 suggested, however, that William's ambition tested even her generosity:

*Will is insisting upon buying a paper in Chicago. Says he will come over to see me if I do not go home very soon. It is impossible for me to throw away more money in any way for the simple reason that he has already absorbed almost all. . . . It is madness. I never know when or how Wm will break out into some additional expensive scheme . . . no argument can induce me to commit such a folly as that of starting another newspaper.*²²

Nonetheless, charity, even for the publicly generous and spirited Mrs. Hearst, began substantially at home.

Insight into Phoebe's personal character is offered by her devotion to children, which she did not reserve only for her grandson and son. The author received a letter from a seventy-nine-year-old California woman who related a childhood experience expressing Mrs. Hearst's private thoughtfulness:

When I was eleven years old, I travelled by train from S.F. [San Francisco] across the continent with my parents. I think I slept in the upper berth above Mrs. Hearst. At any rate, daytimes she sat across the aisle from my parents and me. She was a charming lady to a little girl, asked me to sit with her, talked and played with me. At the end of our jour-

Mrs. Hearst was a cultural relativist rather than an American chauvinist, and as such a woman ahead of her time. The world outside America did not appear to be culturally inferior in her eyes.

Like other wealthy women of America's Gilded Age, Phoebe delighted in entertaining public officials and affluent individuals, and she played hostess to high society in California and especially in Washington, D.C., when her husband served in the United States Senate from 1886 until his death in 1891.¹⁶ She also relished attending social functions. For example, she noted that she tried to help a Washington friend put on a concert by taking "two boxes (\$50.00)" and giving him "cards to some of the best people."¹⁷ Abroad she found similar social opportunities and contacts among the

elites. In 1903, she wrote to Orrin from Japan: "It is difficult to write many or long letters when travelling. It is doubly so if one goes in for a little society."¹⁸

Despite her extensive social and charitable interests, she always found time for precious private periods with her family at her hacienda estate in Pleasanton, thirty miles east of San Francisco.¹⁹ On one occasion, she wrote Orrin of the happiness her grandson provided: "Little George is a dear child. He and his Grandma Hearst are great friends. Wm (William Randolph) and Millicent (his wife) go east, but George will stay with me until Dec. and I hope, all winter and all next spring, summer and fall."²⁰ Although best remembered for her public services and reputation, she had a soft private side typical of doting grandmothers

ney, she said she would like to give me a present—but I must promise to use it always. Naturally, I said I would gladly accept her present. I was surprised, but very honored, when she gave me her name for my middle name. So I was Helena Phoebe Duryea until I married when I thought I should sign only my legal name.”²³

This gesture appears to have been much more an act of caring than conceit. As with young Orrin Peck, Phoebe had a special rapport with and fondness for youth.

She also had varied cultural interests, many of which she pursued abroad. On one occasion, she wrote Janet about her eager anticipation at attending some notable European theatric and operatic performances: “[I] will be glad if you can engage seats for the performances. I will enclose a list. If the seats are not all together it will not matter.”²⁴ For Phoebe, the cultural experience seemed temporarily to take precedence over the close and good company of fine friends. On another occasion she informed Orrin that she had “been to the Luxenbourg [Palace and Gardens] and three times to the Louvre—each day spending two hours.”²⁵

Despite her fascination with foreign travel and culture, she still loved California and had a great stake in its educational future as the first female regent of the University of California from 1897 until her death in 1919. She was a major financial donor to students, free kindergartens, libraries, hospitals, orphanages, and, of course, university facilities, including the Hearst Memorial Mining Building, the Museum and Department of Anthropology, the women’s social and ath-

letic center known as Hearst Hall, and a comprehensive campus architectural plan at Berkeley, among many other gifts.²⁶ However, in 1904, she cut back support for some university programs, including the Hearst Domestic Industries (a work-study experimental program) and some women’s clubs and found herself the target of criticism as well as praise from the local press.²⁷ Perhaps the consensus was best expressed by the *Oakland Tribune*, June 9, 1904:

She is under no obligation to give her money to the University or to anything or anybody else. But her very generosity has made her subject to comment, which, if not openly critical, is at least covertly invidious. Other rich people who have given nothing at all are exempt from this invidious comment. Never was there a more flagrant instance of looking a gift

horse in the mouth and complaining of its points. A sense of decency and propriety should stifle further comment on Mrs. Hearst’s refusal to contribute further to this or that benefaction or enterprise. Her privacy should be respected even if her generosity is indifferently appreciated.

In 1905, she wrote Janet from her beloved retreat Wyntoon on the McCloud River in northern California: *My special reason for going to town [San Francisco] is to attend a very important meeting of the [University of California] Regents. I will return here on the 10th and stay until the last of the month. I should like to stay until October. This country is so beautiful. It has been a joy to live among the pines and near the river that I really love. The air is perfect. I am thankful that my home is in California.*²⁸



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Phoebe Hearst and the Pecks traveled frequently in Europe and were particularly fond of Bavaria. Orrin Peck lived for years in Munich. According to an anonymous friend or relative who penciled notes on the back of many of Janet Peck's family photographs, the castle of Ludwig, the "mad king" was a favorite excursion.

Orrin Peck did not travel as far or frequently as his benefactress, but various photographs depicting him in picturesque costumes indicate that he shared her taste for the exotic. This image is annotated, "Orrin Peck in his Chinese costume."

Even one who had travelled the world, experienced the culture and met the officials of cosmopolitan European cities and exotic countries, could delight in the pleasure of life amongst the pines, albeit in a rubble-stone castle with servants to attend her every need.²⁹ Perhaps, Wyntoon, though infrequently used, offered a kind of physical and emotional renewal from an engaging social and public life.

Not surprisingly, Phoebe was very vigilant when hiring those who waited on or served her, whether at Wyntoon or elsewhere. An interesting letter to Orrin's mother in 1899, while Mrs. Hearst was in London, suggests the need to research carefully a prospective employee's credentials and character:

I am thinking of engaging a girl who is

at present in London, to go to America as maid, she is a great friend of Mrs. [John] Spreckel's maid who recommends her highly and she has a good letter from a family in Munich whose name and address I enclose, and will you please write at once in German asking Mrs. Allerstein [her apparent former employer] if she was thoroughly honest, good tempered and all particulars. She is a decent and rather bright looking girl but I am so afraid of taking anybody that I do not know about.³⁰

In an age known especially for its crass materialism and corruption, a wealthy widow such as Mrs. Hearst had to temper her goodwill with caution and discretion. Such were the concerns of the always vulnerable rich.

Her money, of course, was used for more meaningful altruistic purposes

than the hiring of domestic help. Throughout her long life, Phoebe took an avid personal and financial interest in the education and careers of young and struggling but talented artists, writers, musicians, architects, and others.³¹ Orrin Peck was no exception. Like so many others she helped him receive instruction abroad. In fact, he was originally sent to Munich at Phoebe's expense in appreciation for the kindness shown her by Peck's mother on the trip to San Francisco years before.³² Not only did he paint portraits of the Hearst family, but she commissioned him to do her father and mother as well and apparently arranged for portraits of friends.³³ On one occasion, she wrote "I hope he may receive orders for pictures. He takes over to SF a picture for Mr. Furry. 'My Girl in a Pumpkin Patch' is in the salon."³⁴ Yet, she admonished him: "Are you really doing lots of work? I don't mean *working* one or two days and then doing none for a week or two. You may say or think that your O.M. ["Other Mother"] should not doubt your doing work. I am anxious for your success. If you do not [sic] the lovely home cannot possibly be maintained. You must realize that."³⁵

It would appear that Mrs. Hearst was willing to pay for some of Peck's occupational and living expenses judging by a letter to "my dear other son": "I hope Wm [William Randolph Hearst] will arrive in Munich very soon. We will settle for all the studio chairs when I return, also pay your bill for clothes."³⁶ Although Orrin Peck had a very special relationship with Phoebe, it was not unusual for the wealthy to patronize or subsidize the arts or to have themselves immortalized on canvas. In fact, Phoebe indicated a desire to have the famous American painter, John Singer Sargent, do her portrait. In a letter from Paris to Janet, she wrote:

*Has Sargent returned to London yet? Wm told me that he wanted him to paint a portrait of me, also of him (Wm) and family. I suppose one must try to arrange with Sargent a year or more in advance. That is if he would do the work at all. If he should have time and be willing to paint a portrait of me, I could go to London anytime next Spring or Fall. I am not growing younger and do not care to wait very long.*³⁷

Many members of the Gilded Age elite owned art collections which were usually more distinguished by their cost than by their quality. Phoebe made her extensive collection available for public viewing in 1916 at the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco.³⁸ However, her fascination with art went beyond social custom to personal fulfillment and pleasure, with Orrin Peck as the favorite beneficiary of her genuine artistic interest.

In 1906, from Rome, the peripatetic Mrs. Hearst urged him to "hurry up, get ready some things for the Royal Academy and see where you can hold an exhibition of your work in the Spring."³⁹ However, in the same letter she seemed insulted by his

infrequent correspondence: "Have you been so very busy working on those pictures, that you could not send me a line. You don't paint in the evenings and there is an occasional dull light after five p.m."⁴⁰ Several years earlier, regarding a possible New York exhibition of his work, Phoebe pleaded with Orrin: "Do come east soon. I miss you very much. You will surely have to come and help me give entertainments after your exhibition. . . . I shall expect a letter. You see I do not ask for much—a letter now and you later."⁴¹

Obviously, Peck was not just another protégé. He was more like a surrogate son, perhaps the kind she wanted but never had. In a bitter letter to Orrin in 1885, she complained that Will "is selfish, indifferent and undemonstrative as his father. Both

have their good qualities, but the other side of their natures are most trying."⁴² Certainly, some of her son's female companions displeased Phoebe. She anxiously wrote Mrs. Peck (Orrin's mother): "I am so distressed about Will that I don't really know how I can *live* if he marries Eleanor Calhoun. *She* is determined to marry him and it seems as if he must be in the toils of the Devilfish."⁴³ The marriage never took place, but her son's fascination with then socially suspect dramatic actresses and theatre people like Miss Calhoun caused much consternation for the proper Mrs. Hearst.⁴⁴

Although Mrs. Hearst could be domineering toward Orrin, the Hearst-Peck correspondence reveals a deep personal bond between two friends, especially as expressed by



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Orrin Peck in middle age.

Phoebe Hearst doted on her grandchildren, shown here sitting on the "Pozo" at her Pleasanton hacienda.

Phoebe. In addition, what emerges from the letters is the fact that Mrs. Hearst, particularly after 1900, was an extensive and expensive world traveller, when not plagued by periodic illness such as neuralgia or rheumatic fever.⁴⁵ Rather than a member of the idle rich, she was nearly always on the move on sometimes uncomfortable steamer trips across the Atlantic and from city to city in Europe, particularly London, Paris, Rome, and Naples. Although she kept an apartment in Paris, it would be inappropriate to call her an expatriate, for she spent considerable time in California and Washington, D.C. But her letters to the Peck family are full of references to unidentified people undoubtedly of the European upper class. She was acquainted with such aristocrats as

Baroness Franchetti in Paris and frequently met such Americans traveling abroad as various members of the famous Spreckels family.⁴⁶ She obviously delighted in good friends, new experiences, and increased knowledge. At one time, she even stayed in a makeshift hospital tent to observe a University of California archaeological excavation she had financed in Egypt.⁴⁷ In short, the sprightly Mrs. Hearst liked to be where the action was, and if nothing interesting was taking place, she was apt to create her own kind of excitement.

Notwithstanding substantial self-indulgent travel, she always found time to help others. Free kindergartens, orphanages, libraries, hospitals, charity organizations, service clubs, struggling students, and es-

pecially the University of California at Berkeley benefitted from her willingness to give. Artist Orrin Peck is a revealing case study of her personal devotion and ample generosity toward others and her patronage of the arts throughout her life. In an age when American women were still handicapped by many Victorian taboos and traditions, Mrs. Hearst was a peripatetic philanthropist who dared to assert her interests and independence at home and abroad. Yet, her letters to the Peck family often suggest ambivalent behavior. Her self-centered materialistic flourish, social snobbery, and world travel were consistent with elitist activities of the Gilded Age. Nonetheless, her life, above all else, was a consummate act of public and private kindness and compassion typical of the heightened social consciousness of America's turn-of-the-century Progressive era. This was the paradox of Phoebe Hearst—a kind of self-indulgent altruism. In sum, she enjoyed herself, but she also enjoyed helping others, perhaps even more. Although not unique, her considerable charity substantially set her apart from many other wealthy women of her generation who, like women generally, are only now beginning to find their way deservedly into California history texts.⁴⁸ [CHS]

The author would like to thank the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California, for permission to publish portions of letters from the Orrin M. Peck manuscript collection.

See notes beginning on page 316.



TO THE SOURCE

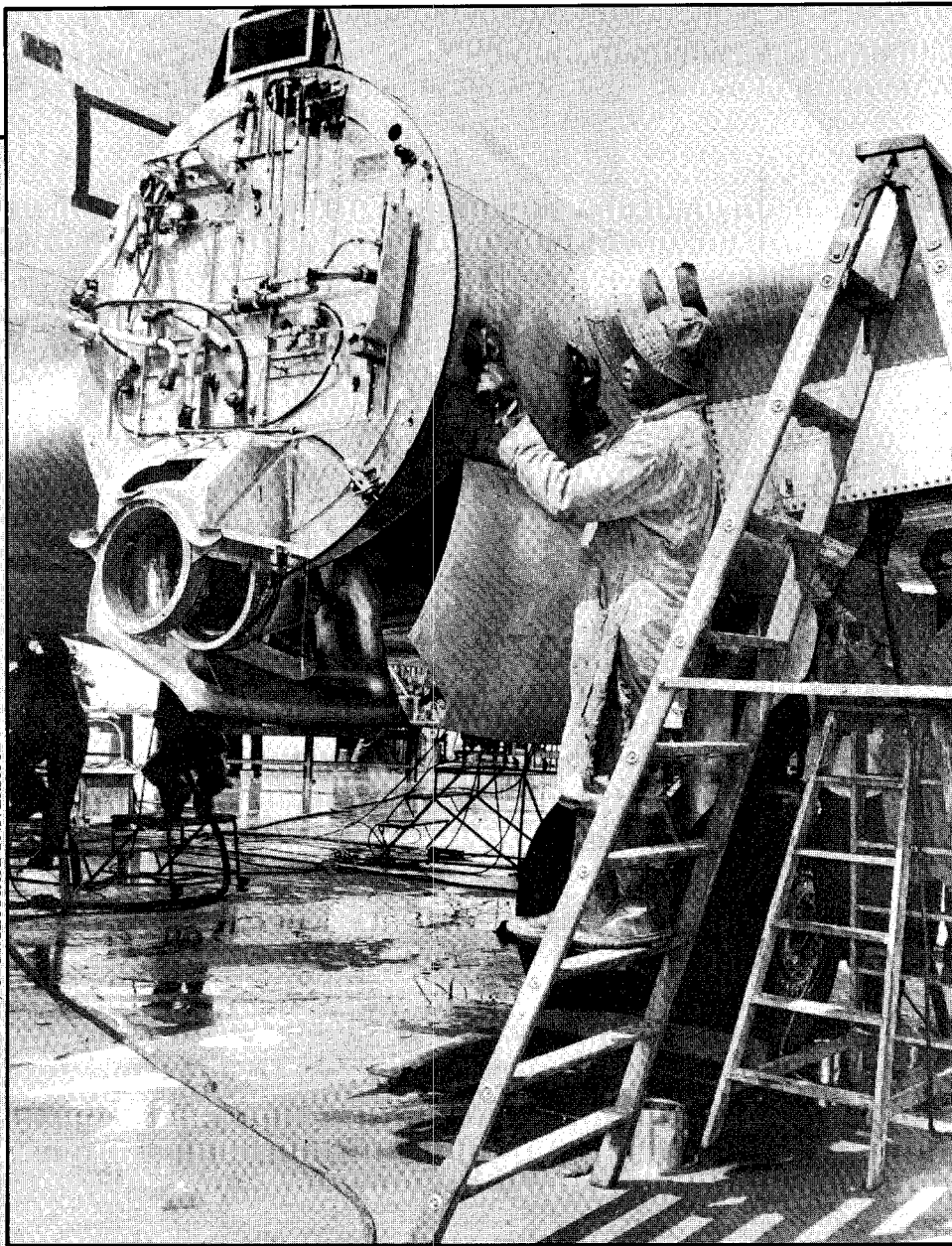
The founding of labor-oriented archival programs in the 1950s and 1960s coincided with the rise of interest in social history and the study of the American labor movement and worker. Labor studies courses, such as those at San Francisco Community College, San Francisco State University, Merritt College, and San Jose State University; new publications such as Labor History; and the establishment of labor history societies, such as the San Francisco Bay Area Labor History Workshop, brought together historians, labor leaders, and rank-and-file trade unionists. With the help of archivists, these same people made considerable progress during this period in locating and preserving the historical documentation of working men and women and their unions.

Before 1950, archival repositories consisted mainly of public archives on the national and state levels. Beginning with the 1970s many new archival programs were established and some already in existence were expanded—especially those affiliated with colleges and universities. These archives branched out into new fields of study, often with a geographical area or region as their focal

point of collecting. Others selected a subject theme around which to develop an archives not linked to spatial boundaries. The best examples of these subject oriented programs are the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America (formerly The Women's Archives) at Radcliffe College and the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs (formerly the Labor Archives) at Wayne State University.

Since the opening at Wayne of a first-rate archival program devoted to labor, over a dozen others have been established across the country, including the Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives, a part of the Tamiment Institute Library at New York University; the Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University; the Texas Labor Archives at the University of Texas, Arlington; the Pennsylvania Historical Collections and Labor Archives at Pennsylvania State University; the George Meany Memorial Archives at Silver Spring, Maryland, established by the AFL-CIO Executive Council; and the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University, the newest library devoted exclusively to labor.

In addition to these theme-oriented



The central role of "labor history" in all history is dramatically illustrated by this image of workers at the Lockheed Air Terminal in Los Angeles doing maintenance work on planes flying the Berlin Airlift in 1949.

ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS FOR CALIFORNIA LABOR HISTORY

compiled by Lynn A. Bonfield



collections, other libraries with more general collecting policies began to search out and acquire labor related material. In fact, most college and university collections as well as historical societies became aware of the importance of material relating to working men and women.

In California, we are fortunate to have a wide range of these general collections which embrace labor topics. The University of California, Los Angeles, Stanford, and San Diego State University have the personal papers of individuals and the archives of organizations connected with labor. The California Historical Society has the Burnette Haskell papers as well as broadsides and photographs from the building trades and P. H. McCarthy's years as San Francisco mayor and head of the San Francisco Building Trades Council. Eighty oral histories with California labor leaders were conducted and transcripts with some supporting manuscript materials were deposited in the Society's library. The Sacramento History Center has a fine collection from the local typographical union to complement its strong newspa-

per archives. California labor unions, too, have maintained libraries through the years, often collecting their archives at the international and local level, such as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (SUP), both in San Francisco.

Labor organizations and issues cross state boundaries, as do individual labor leaders and workers, so many materials relating to California are located outside of the state. The University of Oregon, Special Collections, for instance, has the papers of Morris Watson, longtime editor of the ILWU newspaper; the University of Washington's Manuscript and University Archives has the Inlandboatmen's records, which include early material from the time when the union was simply the Ferryboatmen's Union of California. Although the union is now headquartered in Seattle, its records continue to reflect the California scene as well.

Going east, a researcher of California labor would want to visit the Western Historical Collections at the University of Colorado, Boulder, to see the Western

Federation of Miners (WFM) and the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (IUMMSW) collections. In Madison, Wisconsin, a researcher can identify collections using "A Guide to Labor Papers in the Historical Society of Wisconsin."

The Bentley Library at the University of Michigan has many oral histories which relate to California labor, including those in the Twentieth Century Trade Union Woman Project. At Pennsylvania State University researchers can see collections on the San Francisco General Strike of 1934 and on District 38 of the United Steelworkers of America in Los Angeles. In Atlanta at Georgia State University, a researcher would find the papers of the International Association of Machinists with its large membership from the California aerospace and airlines industries. The Southern Labor Archives there has also acquired the archives of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) whose records were seized by the court when PATCO was forced into bankruptcy in 1981 as a result of President Reagan's response to the air controllers strike.

The following pages contain a description of the California labor collections at five California libraries and Wayne State University's Walter P. Reuther Library. These presentations were part of a panel at the annual meeting of the Southwest Labor Studies Conference on March 14, 1986, at San Francisco State University. At the time many people in the audience expressed an interest in obtaining written copies of the presentations, and the Labor Archives took on the job of transcribing and editing the talks. Those not directly relating to California—the University of Colorado, Georgia State University, and University of Washington—are not included here but may be obtained by writing directly to the archivists of those repositories.

Most archival repositories, including those connected with business, cultural programs, and associations, have material relating to the men and women who

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Sarah Cooper became director of the Southern California Library in 1983. She has been archivist at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and coordinator of the society's Social Action Collection.

Bonnie Hardwick became head of the Manuscript Division of the Bancroft Library in 1986. She was previously a manuscript specialist in the Western History Department of the Denver Public Library. She holds a Ph.D. in American Literature from the University of Pennsylvania and a Master's degree in Library and Information

Science from the University of Denver.

Robert Marshall is archivist for the Urban Archives Center at California State University, Northridge. Previously he was archival specialist in Special Collections at the Chicago Public Library where he established the Neighborhood History Research Collection.

Philip P. Mason is Professor of History and director of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University. He is past president of the Society of American Archivists, and has written on and taught labor history and archival administration.

Carol Schwartz was librarian and archivist for the ILWU until 1985. She has represented the ILWU in the San Francisco Labor Foundation, which was instrumental in establishing the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University.



Instrumentation equipment for a rocket test stand begins as a collection of precisely engineered but unconnected parts. Mrs. Goldie Berardino of Aerojet-General Corporation performs one of the assembly steps at the company's plant in Foothill, California.

made the activity function. These collections and photographs may not be labelled as "workers" or "labor," so researchers will need to talk personally with the archivists and librarians in charge. Never assume that a collection has ignored the employees or the trades and skills needed to run the organization. Archivists, too, need to put aside their assumptions that historians are our only researchers or our only important researchers. Today, more often than not, the researcher in an archival repository is a media specialist, and in collections relating to labor, the researchers may be rank-and-file workers finding their place in history.

**The Archives of Labor
and Urban Affairs**

**Walter P. Reuther Library
Wayne State University**

*by Philip P. Mason
Director*

The Archives of Labor and Urban

Affairs was established in 1960 to collect the records of the American labor movement, with special emphasis upon industrial unionism and related social, economic, and political reform movements in the United States. A second major theme has been workers, working conditions, and the nature of work. Later, the theme of urban affairs was added to the collecting scope, limited primarily to the southeastern Michigan region. The majority of archival collections relate to the period after 1920, though there are some significant materials from the early twentieth century. As of 1982, the Archives contained about 45,000 linear feet of records, 500,000 photographs, broadsides, posters, and illustrations; more than 20,000 films, tape recordings and other audio-visual materials; and a reference library of 10,000 volumes.

As a part of its agreement with various international unions, the Archives accepted responsibility for affiliated local unions in all parts of the United States and Canada. In some cases, the archival collection of all locals was solicited—such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the United Farm Workers (UFW), and the United Auto Workers (UAW). A more selective policy was adopted for the local union records of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and The Newspaper Guild (TNG). Interestingly, the largest single group of records generated by unions, especially on the local level, relates to the grievance process. For all General Motors plants of the UAW, more than 300,000 grievances are handled each year. In all, the Archives has received more than 2,000 linear feet of such files. Local union records are vital in understanding



the origin of many international union policies and programs, especially those representing unions with local dissident elements. Local union records also document the nature of work, working conditions, the employment of minorities and women, and the relationship of unions to community activities and politics.

Detailed guides to all our collections are available to researchers at Wayne State University and also at the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University. It is impossible to mention even a fraction of our collections in this space, but among our highlights are the records of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), consisting of 120 linear feet of material covering the years 1935 to 1955. The internal operation of the CIO is reflected in these files as well as the organization's involvement in a wide variety of activities such as civil rights, social security, housing, universal military training, southern organizing campaigns, international affairs, World War II, communism, and union racketeering.

Another major collecting area has been reform organizations particularly involved with the American labor movement. Among collections in this area are the Workers Defense League, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the National Farm Worker Ministry, National Sharecroppers Fund, the People's Song Library, Center for Community Change, Committee For National Health Insurance, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, National Campaign for Agricultural Democracy, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Obtaining the papers of union reform and dissident movements is also a major collecting goal of the Archives. Among those which it now holds are: The Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM); Miners for Democracy; Steelworkers

Fight Back; Teamsters for a Democratic Union; and the Association for Union Democracy.

The personal files of the labor leaders at the national, regional and local level, rank-and-file union members, reformers, community leaders, labor journalists, church leaders, public officials, and others involved in related reform movements match the organizational files in importance and research value. Happily, detailed information on the hundreds of such collections here is available in Pflug's *A Guide to the Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs*, the *Archives Newsletter*, and other publications.

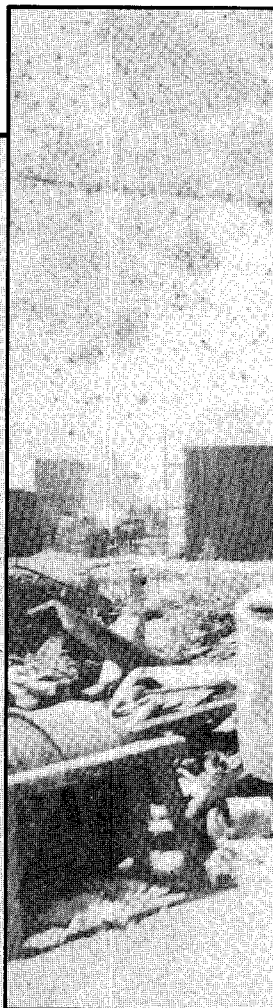
Because of the interest of a large number of researchers in the subject of women's rights and the role of women in unions, the Archives has established a high priority for such collections. The records of women's departments and women's auxiliary groups of unions have great research value, as do the personal papers of women. The Mary Heaton Vorse papers, for example, represent one of the largest and most important collections in the Archives. Ms. Vorse, who was born in 1874 and raised in Amherst, Massachusetts, achieved her initial success as a writer of light fiction. She also wrote news articles for the International News Service, United Press, Labor Press Association, Federated Press, and newspapers in New York, Washington and Paris. From 1912 to her death in 1966, Vorse traveled throughout the United States and abroad observing and reporting on strikes, civil disturbances, wars, revolutions, and political upheavals. Her activities, views and interests, especially on women's rights, are described in her voluminous correspondence with the political and literary intelligentsia of the first six decades of the 20th century.

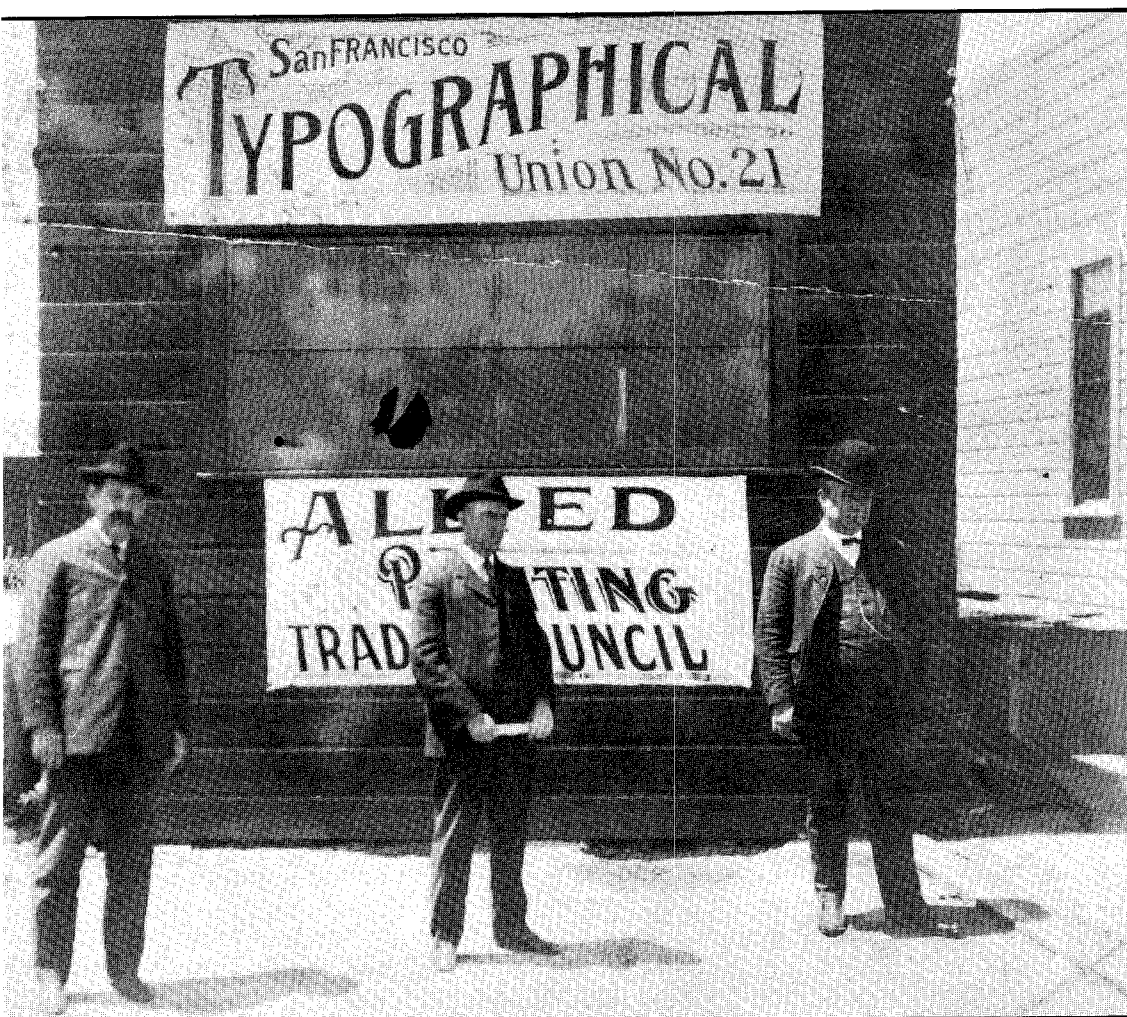
Other important women's collections include: Ann Blankenhorn,

Phyllis Collier, Edith Christenson, Katherine Pollack Ellickson, Jean Gould, Lillian Hatcher, Dorothy Haener, Mildred Jeffrey, Dolores Huerte, Mary Herrick, Selma Borchartt, Mary Van Kleek, Olga Madar, Loretta Moore, Matilda Robbins, Carrie Overton, Mary White Ovington, Moragh Simchak, Marjorie Stern, Mary Wheeler, and Raya Dunayavskaya.

The Archives, from its establishment, has utilized oral history to supplement its holdings of archival, manuscript, and library materials. The first oral history project related to the unionization of the automobile industry. More than 140 people active in the founding and early history of the UAW were interviewed. Other oral history projects sponsored by the Archives deal with the role of women and minorities in the labor movement, and the histories of the American Federation of State, County

LABOR ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH CENTER, SF STATE UNIVERSITY





Publishing is one of San Francisco's oldest industries, and typesetters and printers have played a variety of important roles in the city's cultural and labor history.

and Municipal Employees, the American Federation of Teachers, the Newspaper Guild, and the United Farm Workers.

The audio-visual section of the Archives contains extensive source material on labor. More than half a million photographs have been collected from a variety of sources—unions, union members, personal donors, newspapers, and commercial photographers. They document important strikes and other events, conventions, meetings, parades, and Labor Day and other celebrations. Among the IWW-related collections, for example, are unique photographs of the funerals of Joe Hill, Frank Little, and other union martyrs, the Everett “massacre,” the deportation of “Wobblies” from Bisbee, and the famous Wheatland, Patterson, and Lawrence strikes. The Ludlow Massacre is shown in fifteen rare glass negatives. Interior

scenes of mills and factories, stores and shops, mines and mining camps, as well as photographs of work in lumber camps and other outdoor settings depict work places, tools, and workers. Acquisition of 140 photographs by the distinguished artist Lewis W. Hine adds immeasurably to the Archives holdings.

Broadsides, strike posters, bulletins, cartoons, murals and paintings, and other illustrations represent another important segment of the audio-visual collection. The cartoons of Ernest Reibe, originator of the “Mr. Block Series,” which appeared in the *Industrial Worker* and other IWW publications, are a rich source for the education and propaganda policies of the IWW. In 1981, the Archives obtained four postcards written by Joe Hill between 1911 and 1914, each containing a cartoon. One, drawn in color while Hill was awaiting execution in the penitentiary in

Salt Lake City in 1914, depicts a Christmas scene celebrated by Hill the year before.

The film collection is also rich, and, for the most part, an untapped source. Several thousand films—mostly raw footage—depict strikes, work scenes, conventions, meetings, parades, and other historic events. These sources have been used extensively by television and documentary film producers but seldom by historians.

Access to union and other records is controlled by legal agreement with each donor. The UAW, for example, has opened to scholarly research all its inactive records that are ten years or older; those files less than ten years old are closed except by special permission of the union. All published materials are available without restriction. Other unions, organizations, and personal donors have adopted access provisions which



range from twenty years of closure to no restrictions.

The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs has a Kaiser Family Foundation Travel Grant Program whereby researchers can be awarded up to \$700 for expenses to come to Detroit to use the Archives. Application forms can be obtained from the Director of the Archives.

**The Bancroft Library
University of California,
Berkeley**

*by Bonnie Hardwick
Head, Manuscript Division*

The Bancroft Library, on the University of California campus at Berkeley, is one of the largest collections of manuscripts, rare books, and special collections in the United States. Hubert Howe Bancroft began gathering Western Americana in the 1850s, concentrating first on California and the Pacific states but soon extending his collection to encompass the entire western region from Alaska to Panama and east to the

Rocky Mountain states. Included among the Bancroft's more than 12,000 collections today are the papers of individuals and organizations representing such diverse fields as literature, politics, journalism, theater, conservation, education, science, and business.

From these vast holdings, I have compiled a highly selective bibliography of materials relating to the labor movement. Not listed are larger collections of personal papers in which only small sections deal with labor relations; but I have included small collections of very early materials, such as the Eureka Typographical Union of San Francisco for which we have a record book of minutes for 1853-1859, and a handful of early records of the Knights of Labor. Various other unions are represented. Most of them are fairly predictable in terms of California geography and history, with emphasis on sailors and maritime unions, printing, mining, and agriculture. There is also much material relating to labor strife in agriculture. Business papers of other industries, too, often contain

information on labor relations, presenting management points of view. Also held are some personal papers of labor activists, such as Tom Mooney, and papers of legal firms that dealt with labor-related cases, such as the Gladstein, Leonard, Patsey and Anderson firm. The latter contains 100 cartons of Norman Leonard's cases, mainly dealing with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

The Bancroft's Regional Oral History Office has been active for over thirty years and during that time has conducted a number of interviews dealing with labor issues. The catalog of oral histories completed by the office between 1954 and 1979 describes twenty-three oral history projects relating directly to business and labor, including, for example, interviews with Warren Billings and Louis Goldblatt of the ILWU. Another group concerns the wine industry in California; and among the many oral histories of the Earl Warren Era Project are the views of labor leaders of that time.

The following list indicates some of the labor-related manuscript collections in the Bancroft Library. By fully utilizing various catalogs and finding aids, as well as the able assistance of the reference librarian, a creative researcher will discover additional caches of labor movement materials in other Bancroft special collections, such as sound recordings of speeches by Cesar Chavez and a fine group of 247 photographs of the ILWU strike and the San Francisco General Strike of 1934.

California Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Immigration and Housing. Records, ca. 1913-1937. 92 cartons, 9 packages, and 8 card files. Preliminary inventory available.

Coast Seamen's Union of the Pacific

Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs
Walter P. Reuther Library
Wayne State University
Detroit, MI 48202
(313) 577-4024

The Bancroft Library
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720
(415) 643-8153

Labor Archives and Research Center
San Francisco State University
480 Winston Drive
San Francisco, CA 94132
(415) 564-4010

Anne Rand Memorial Library
1188 Franklin Street
San Francisco, CA 94109
(415) 775-0533

*Southern California Library for
Social Studies and Research*
6120 South Vermont Avenue

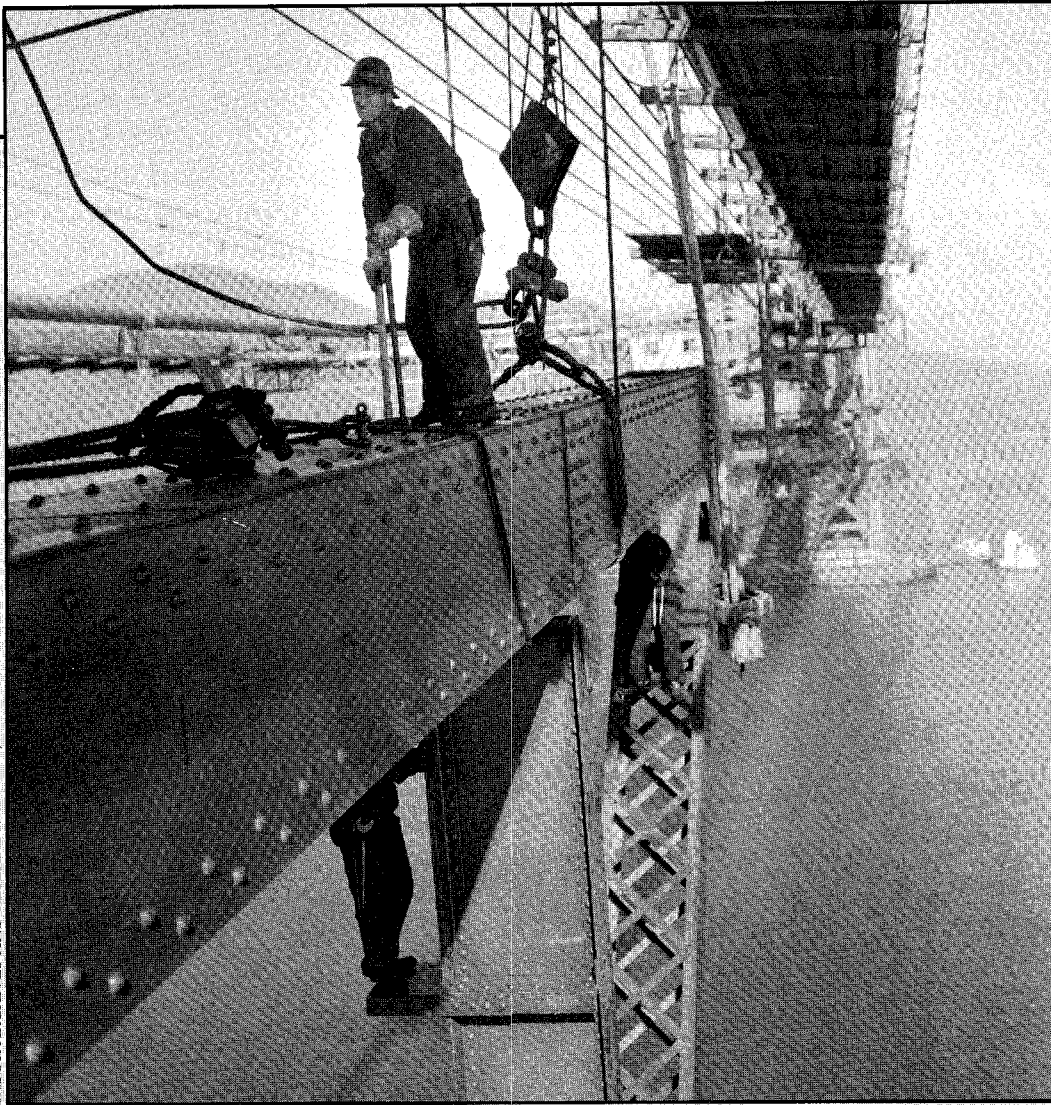
Los Angeles, CA 90044
(213) 759-6063

Southern Labor Archives
Alumni Hall
Georgia State University
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 658-2477

University of Washington Libraries
Manuscripts and Archives
Seattle, WA 98195
(206) 543-1879

Urban History Center
California State University
Northridge, CA 91324
(818) 885-2487

Western Historical Collections
University Libraries
Campus Box 184
Boulder, CO 80309
(303) 492-7242



The iron workers who built the Golden Gate Bridge were among those whose dramatic roles were celebrated in the 1987 commemoration of the bridge's fiftieth anniversary.

- Coast. Treasurer's ledger, 1885–1887. 1 volume.
- Cross, Ira Brown. California labor notes, ca. 1847–1932. 4 cartons. Notes, clippings, and correspondence gathered for his book, *History of the Labor Movement in California*. Inventory available.
- Dellums, Cottrell L. Correspondence and papers. 43 cartons. Includes records of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Preliminary inventory available.
- Eggleston, Arthur Dupuy. Correspondence and papers, 1935–1941. 2 boxes and 2 cartons. Labor editor on the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Inventory available.
- Eureka Typographical Union, No. 21, San Francisco. Record book, 1853–1859. 1 volume.
- Federal Writers' Project, Oakland, Calif. Source material gathered by Federal Writers' Project on Migratory Labor, District No. 8, ca. 1936–1939. 36 cartons and 3 card file boxes.
- Gladstein, Leonard, Patsey and Anderson, Attorneys at Law, San Francisco. Legal files, ca. 1933–1957. 7 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.
- The Green Rising, 1910–1977: A Supplement to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union Project. 17 reels of microfilm. Published guide available.
- Gold Hill Miners' Union. Organizational papers, Gold Hill, Nevada, 1876–1921. 4 volumes and 2 portfolios.
- International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America. Records, ca. 1938–1951. 21 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.
- International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Subject files relating to seamen's and maritime unions, ca. 1936–1976. 21 cartons. Inventory available.
- International Typographical Union of North America, Union No. 46, Sacramento. Minutes of meetings, 1859–1940. 10 volumes.
- International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, No. 61, Bodie, Calif. Records, 1890–1913. 2 volumes.
- International Workmen's Association. Records, 1882–1887. 1 box. See Haskell Family Papers for related materials.
- Ireland, Luis Arthurs. Correspondence and papers, 1910–1960. 3 boxes, 3 cartons, and 1 volume. Secretary of the Printers' Board of



Trade and the Employing Printers' Association.

Knights of Labor. Records, 1886–1892. 1 portfolio and 1 volume.

Lewis, Austin. Correspondence and papers, 1913–1944. 1 box and 4 cartons. Materials re: Tom Mooney and Warren Billings; California's criminal syndicalism law. Inventory available.

Macarthur, Walter. Correspondence and papers, ca. 1905–1944. 7 cartons. Materials on the Sailors' Union of the Pacific.

Mooney, Thomas J. Correspondence and papers, 1906–1942. 50 cartons, 84 volumes, 37 scrapbooks, 15 packages, and 1 portfolio. Inventory available.

National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards. Records, ca. 1938–1955. 21 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.

Roney, Frank. Correspondence and papers, 1870–1925. 2 boxes. Early labor movement in San Francisco, with emphasis on the iron industry and the Federated Trades Council.

San Francisco CIO Council. Records, ca. 1939–1949. 21 cartons. Preliminary inventory available.

San Francisco Labor Council. Records, 1906–1965. 175 cartons and 4 packages. Temporary inventory available.

Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Papers, 1934–1970. 60 reels of microfilm. Originals in the Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C. Published guide available.

Taylor, Paul Shuster. Material concerning Mexican labor in the United States, collected ca. 1927–1932. 2 cartons. Also: Field notes for his book, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, 1927–1930. 1 box.

Labor Archives and Research Center San Francisco State University

*By Lynn A. Bonfield
Director*

The Labor Archives and Research Center collects archival and printed materials which document the lives of Northern California working men and women and their unions. It houses, for example, the eighty-box archives of the Bay Area Typographical Union, Local 21, the oldest continually existing union in the Bay Area, and the first to admit women on an equal basis with men. Papers of unionists and friends of labor have also been collected: among them 25 boxes of the papers of David Selvin, labor journalist and historian, and 160 boxes of the papers of Norman Leonard, labor lawyer for the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Material dealing with women workers can be found in the Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union W.A.G.E.) Collection which fills twenty boxes, including minutes, subject files, and testimony before the California Industrial Welfare Commission, 1971–1982. An earlier collection focusing on women is the Bookbinders and Bindery Women's Union papers. The minutes begin in 1902 when there were separate locals for men and "girls." In 1917 they merged into Local 31–125, and the minutes in the collection continue through 1970. This year the Department Store Employees, Local 1100, in San Francisco celebrates its fiftieth anniversary and retired officers Larry Vail and Walter Johnson have donated over two cubic feet of records from this predominantly female union, including complete documentation of the Sears strike, 1973–1975.

A large collection from the United Professors of California, the first fac-

ulty union in the California State University system, is on permanent deposit at the Archives. Its predecessor, the California Faculty Association, has also been approached to designate the Archives as its official repository. A similar arrangement has been made with the San Francisco Labor Council; Sign, Display, and Allied Crafts Union; and Household Workers' Rights.

Visual materials are a high priority in the collecting policy of the Archives. A major donation from *The People's World* of five boxes of photographs, 1935–1955, includes a dozen photos by Dorothea Lange. Several photographs from the collection will be featured as book covers and illustrations in articles in the next year. Photographs are also found in the collections of the San Francisco Labor Council and the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO. Another compelling visual item is the 1907 Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) Charter of a North Beach Italian bakery, which is displayed in the reading room. Archie Green, the donor of the IWW charter, also gave the Archives the original 1916 sheet music to "The Rebel Girl," the song Joe Hill wrote for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. A reproduction of the front cover is available at the Archives.

The maritime industry is represented in the many International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union pamphlets as well as in the thirty boxes containing the papers of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific for the years 1935–1942. The Archives' poster collection includes several Rockwell Kent images used during the Harry Bridges era. From the same period are three Ben Shahn posters which are being deacidified and encapsulated in order to ensure their existence for future exhibition.

Other gifts of broadsides, glass-plate negatives, buttons, newspa-



World War II was an industrial war, fought with enormous quantities of weaponry, ammunition, and other equipment, and women who worked in factories were as much a part of the war effort as the men who fought in the field. Photographs from the People's World collection provide exceptional documentation of the variety and conditions of these women's work.

pers, books, films, videos, tapes, long-playing records, histories of locals, and biographies of people in the labor movement are available for researchers to use.

The Archives is co-sponsored by the San Francisco Bay Area Labor Foundation, a non-profit corporation whose charter authorizes it to receive funds and properties from private and public sources for purposes relating to labor education. The Labor Foundation worked for many years to establish a repository for the documents of the Bay Area labor movement. In 1984, the Labor Foundation concluded an agreement with San Francisco State University to house the Archives. At the official opening of the Archives on February 13, 1986, over 300 labor officials, union members, retirees, and university faculty and staff joined in the celebration.

The Archives maintains exhibit

cases displaying photographs, ephemera, labor art, and union records from its collection. Plans are underway to host programs, special events, and exhibits on a regular basis. The first program in the spring of 1986 honored P.H. McCarthy of the Building Trades Council in San Francisco, who was elected mayor of the city in 1909. Later programs have highlighted New Deal arts, IWW "rebel art," and the building of the Golden Gate Bridge.

Southern California Library For Social Studies and Research

*by Sarah Cooper
Director*

I would like to do three things: to explain what I consider to be the *political* nature of the labor collections at SCL; to highlight a few of our collections and mention the varying forms of archival materials we

have; and to discuss the role our institution has played and can play in documenting Southern California labor history. What do I mean by the political nature of our labor collections? I mean two things primarily.

First, our labor archives are not primarily the official records of unions or locals of unions. Rather they are the correspondence, legal files, and pamphlets of labor activists battling the government or employers in fighting for the political right to protest and to organize. These are papers of individuals as well as support organizations.

Second, I mean by the political nature of our collections that the library itself has a political origin. It was founded by Emil Freed, a longtime Los Angeles activist and member of the Communist Party, who participated in or observed many of the movements the library documents, such as the organizing of the CIO,



the Hollywood Studio strikes, and the fight against McCarthyism in the 1950s. Over the past year we have been sorting through and organizing materials he collected from the thirties until his death in 1982. Indeed, Freed's personal papers at the library reflect his political experience: they consist mainly of his correspondence from the Lincoln Heights Jail, where he served ten months in 1949 for having picketed during the 1946 Hollywood Studio Strike.

In reflecting on the history of our library, I have found a statement by Howard Zinn to be particularly appropriate. Addressing a meeting of archivists in 1970, he said "knowledge has a social origin and a social use. It comes out of a divided, embattled world and is poured into such a world." Viewing archives as a concrete part of a larger body of human knowledge, I see the historical materials we all collect as having a social origin and social use. Certainly the collections at the Southern California Library come out of a divided, embattled world.

Let me highlight a few of our labor collections to illustrate how much they reflect the political battles California labor activists have faced over the past fifty to sixty years. What is very well documented in them is a form of political harassment that could be used against only foreign-born labor activists: that is, of course, the threat of deportation. This threat is the genesis of the most significant archival collection we have: the legal files of lawyer Richard Gladstein pertaining to the many attempts by the U.S. government to deport his well-known client, longshore leader Harry Bridges.

Bridges was never deported, but other labor activists of the same period were, such as Guatemalan-born Luisa Moreno, who had been an organizer for the cannery and agricultural workers union. Her unsuc-

cessful fight against deportation is documented in the papers of her lawyer, Robert Kenny, a civil liberties champion and one-time California Attorney General. Other civil rights and civil liberties collections we have document the struggle of minorities as well as labor people fighting for their rights. This theme runs through our collections from the Los Angeles chapters of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Civil Rights Congress.

The library also maintains materials on Los Angeles organizations currently involved in protecting the rights of foreign-born residents, in particular Mexican and Central American immigrants to Los Angeles. Though we do not as yet have full-blown archival collections on these groups, we do have the literature files of a number of local support organizations, such as *El Rescate*, *Casa El Salvador*, Guatemala Information Center, and the Central American Refugee Center. These are part of our contemporary Heritage Project.

We have about 20,000 catalogued pamphlets, many of which date from the 1930s. I view our pamphlets as primary source materials, as archival materials, really, because political pamphlets have not been systematically collected by research libraries. Our labor or union pamphlets are diverse, though there is a preponderance of pamphlets from unions in which the Communist Party played a significant role such as the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, the United Electrical Workers, and the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union. We also have scattered pamphlets from the Trade Union Unity League and the International Labor Defense.

In highlighting the different forms of archival materials at SCL, I need to mention our documentary film collection, which includes a number

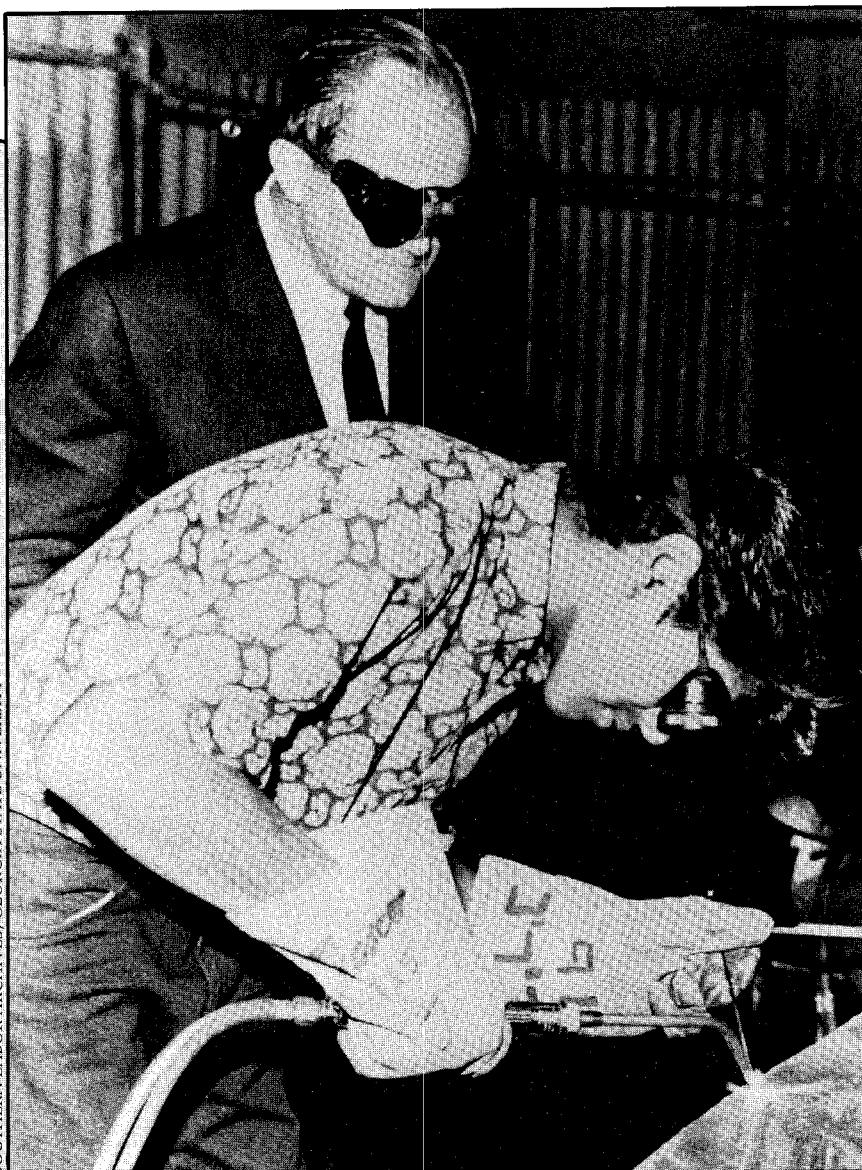
of labor films from the 1930s and 1940s. Under a grant from the American Film Institute/National Endowment for the Arts preservation programs, we have been able to have preservation negatives made of several of our films, as well as positive prints that can be used for reference. Included in this collection are short films on the El Monte berry pickers and Kern County cotton strikes of the thirties, demonstrations in San Pedro and Los Angeles, and demonstrations in support of Tom Mooney.

As far as I can tell, SCL and the Urban Archives at Northridge are the only two southern California institutions that have articulated a focused collecting interest in labor history, though there is of course some good labor material at other regional institutions, particularly UCLA. Thus, small as we are, SCL has an important role to play in doing what we can to document some aspects of labor history in our region of the state. We can be encouraged by what has happened in northern California with the development of the Labor Archives and Research Center at San Francisco State University. It is my hope that in due course southern California will develop a similar consciousness of its own labor history and seriously begin the task of preserving it.

The Anne Rand Library International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union

*by Carol Schwartz
Former Librarian*

The Anne Rand Library of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) is a research library and archives. As an in-house archives, it has its own unique organization and arrange-



Labor history includes such topics as how individuals learn their work. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey watches seventeen-year-old trainee Ricky Esgurerra practice welding at the Alameda Air Station in 1967.

ments that reflect the growth of the ILWU.

The union arrived on the scene in the late 1930s with the organizing of the CIO, and the collection reflects not only the tremendous organizing of the ILWU during those years but the dedication of the workers to the union movement.

The ILWU brought together top people to become staff workers in the union. It hired Morris Watson from New York as the first editor of *The Dispatcher*, the union's official newspaper. It also brought Lincoln Fairley, a Harvard economist, who, in turn, hired Anne Rand as the first librarian in 1945.

The library collection grew rapidly with a broad scope. It encompasses not only the materials necessary to

run a union, but resource material on major social issues on which the union takes positions. Anne Rand drew students, writers, anyone interested in labor history into the library. It became a public resource open to all people and groups interested in labor history and the social issues of the day. It was always said that Anne Rand not only provided the material that you were seeking, but she sought to expand your mind.

The collection achieved historical significance as an archives somewhere in the 1950s or 1960s. Before that it was known only as a research library with a cataloged collection of about 3,000 volumes. It collected materials on the CIO unions. We have convention proceedings of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, and Pack-

inghouse Workers, and the United Electrical Workers (UE). There is very good, cataloged documentation of the fifties, the persecution of these unions during the McCarthy years, and their expulsion from the CIO. We have the transcript of the ILWU expulsion. There are proceedings and records from the California CIO as well as the National CIO.

The Archives holdings deal primarily with the ILWU. Records are available to researchers with approval; anything in the public domain is available without restriction. They include the legal documents, the trial transcripts, and material developed around support committees. We have organizing files of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which are unique because or-



ganizers never used telephones in the 1930s and 1940s but were accountable by handwritten correspondence for what they had done every day; in many cases their days were divided by the hour. The Archives contains convention transcripts and longshore division caucus transcripts as well as all other documents from conventions and conferences. We have correspondence files; a section of about 120 file drawers (about 250 cubic feet) holds the history files which organize material on the union activity by subject. In that section is almost every article that has been printed on Harry Bridges. The union subscribed to a clipping service from newspapers all over the country, and any article that mentioned Harry Bridges or the ILWU was sent to us. Now the service is restricted to the states where the ILWU has locals.

Since 1942 the Library has maintained an index to *The Dispatcher*, the union newspaper, which is a tremendous finding aid for activities undertaken by the ILWU, providing a time and place for almost every union action, and serving as the first reference in any research project.

Also held by the ILWU are the records of federations in which the ILWU was a member. The Committee for Maritime Unity existed right after World War II, headed by Harry Bridges and Joe Curran of the National Maritime Union. The Pacific Coast Maritime Industry Board was a tripartite World War II organization dedicated to getting maximum production on the home front.

**The Urban Archives Center
California State University,
Northridge**

*by Robert G. Marshall
Archivist*

The Urban Archives Center at California State University, Northridge was started in 1978 with a National

Endowment for the Humanities grant and one from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. We are still a rather small shop and have not yet sought out large labor collections. The Urban Archives is waiting until the new wing of the Oviatt Library is built. This will provide automated shelving access, which will increase the Urban Archives space to around 5,000 cubic feet. As soon as we move, we can start collecting much more.

We presently have around fifty to sixty collections at UAC, about half of which deal with labor history. We also have an oral history collection. Our acquisition focus is the geographical limits of Los Angeles County. Our acquisition program also concentrates on acquiring records from voluntary associations, which include labor organizations, and individuals directly involved with voluntary associations.

The Urban Archives relationship with the Cal State student body is extremely close. Since Cal State is considered a "teaching university," we are concerned about acquiring collections that correspond with the course work being taught in the various departments on campus, cross-covering several disciplines. One of the major policies is collecting for the undergraduate as well as the graduate student, providing undergraduates with their first experience in doing "research." I go to about ten classes a semester, bringing archival tools and examples of primary documents with me. I also give a class tour of the archives, taking students through the stack area and talking to them, trying to get them excited by history. The talks and tours are interdisciplinary, thus I go to classes in history, journalism, education, social science, political science, geography, and urban studies.

In acquiring collections that virtually "excavate" the layers of Los

Angeles historical development, we are documenting a unique urban experience. We have, for example, the papers of the Van Nuys Chamber of Commerce which reveal the business community's drive to develop the San Fernando Valley. We also have many materials documenting the experience of workers and labor movements during the valley's growth. The opportunity to study such contrasting forces offers students a holistic way to touch history.

The Urban Archives Center has several major subject areas. We have holdings on "Chambers of Commerce and Related Associations." These reveal the impact of business on the growth and development of the Los Angeles area and include the papers of the Northridge Civic Association, the West Van Nuys Chamber of Commerce, and others. We have the papers of the Greater Los Angeles Visitors and Convention Bureau, an extensive promotional collection documenting early attempts to per-

LABOR ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH CENTER, CAL STATE UNIVERSITY





San Francisco State University professors discovered that many of their work-related concerns were similar to those of more traditional unionists when they went on strike in 1968.

suade people to visit and live in Los Angeles.

The UAC is also interested in the educational development of the Los Angeles community. We have the papers of Dr. Robert L. Docter, who was president of the Board of Education in the seventies when the students' rights movement was especially active. This was also the period of integrating the Los Angeles public school system and the beginnings of school busing. In contrast to the pro-integration papers, we hold the papers of the "Bus Stop" group, which attempted to stop busing. We will be acquiring lawyer case files dealing with this issue. We have the papers of Dr. Julian Nava, who was president of the Board of Education before Dr. Docter. Nava's basic concerns were bilingual education and ethnic studies. Minority and ethnic activities are further documented through our collection on the Supreme Council of the Mexican-American Movement. We also hold


the papers of the California Association for the Education of Young Children, which coincides with the nursery school program being taught at Cal State.

In our "Political Organizations" collection, we have the papers of the California Young Democrats, Senator Thomas C. Carroll, Representative James Corman, and other politicians. We have the papers of the League of Women Voters of Los Angeles, which cover a wide variety of subjects, including labor, as well as other issues that are politically important throughout Los Angeles history.

The UAC collects the papers of several social service organizations. Our most extensive collection in the area is the "United Way of Los Angeles Collection." If one wants to see what voluntary work was going on, for example, in Los Angeles during World War II, the "War Chest" records of the United Way are an excellent source.

As Los Angeles is diverse, so is its labor force. So, at the UAC we are collecting in several areas. Again, in education, we have the papers of the California Federation of Teachers. To cover the motion picture industry, we have the Directors' Guild of America and the Motion Picture Screen Cartoonist Guild papers, which document the Disney strike. The latter provide a view of Walt Disney different from the "official" benevolent version.

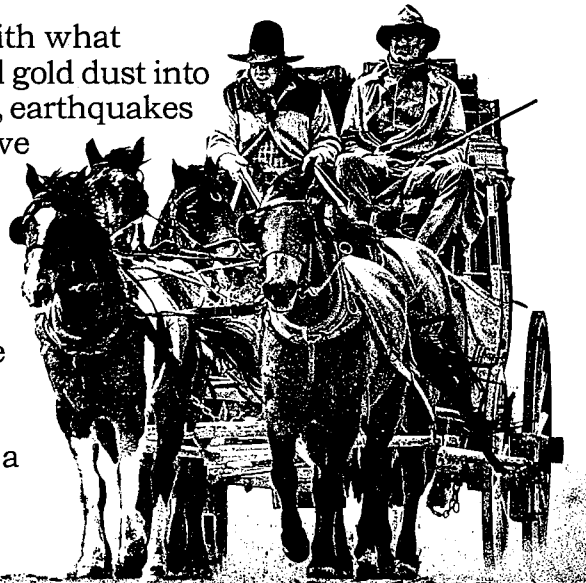
We have the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor papers, those of the Newspaper Guild, and a fascinating collection of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Local 13, papers. The Local 13 collection is about forty cubic feet. We recently acquired some legal papers of Norman Leonard, whose case files deal with Local 13's issues.

Complete details on our holdings and collections may be found in a brochure we have published. 

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WELLS FARGO BANK

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Isadora: Portrait Of The Artist As A Woman

By Frederika Blair. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1987, 470 pp., illus., 1987, \$14.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Gloria Ricci Lothrop, Professor of History at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

This volume captures the spirit of William Wordsworth's "Well Wrought Urn." From title page to type face, from chapter headings to offsets surrounding the right gallery of illustrations by Arnold Genthe and Edward Steichen, among others, this is a beautifully crafted volume. It is above all, however, a comprehensive study which in drawing from conventional accounts as well as French, German and Russian sources, places this prototypical interpreter of modern dance within historical perspective. It is simultaneously a graceful narrative and a rigorous exercise in scholarship in which scrupulous research and careful epigraphy have served to correct a number of longstanding misconceptions, some perpetrated by Duncan in her own hurried autobiography.

While the thoroughness of the study underscores the dedication of the author, this is no artful paeon. Blair neither canonizes nor condemns, but rather, in a manner which would merit Isadora Duncan's praise, presents a biography of a woman who is ultimately broken but "undiminished by life."

The richly detailed account opens against the background of California in the 1870s where at San Francisco's Masonic Roof Garden young Isadora appeared for three weeks in the role of "The California Fawn." Shortly thereafter she departed via cattleboat for Europe where in due course she was showered with accolades by audiences in Vienna, Paris, and Leningrad and unabashedly admired by such respected mandarins of European culture as Rodin, Stanislavsky, D'Annunzio and Eleanora Duse.

Blair traces the life, loves, and losses of this maverick artistic pioneer during her precarious and sometimes impetuous pilgrimage from Budapest to Buenos Aires to Long Beach, where she briefly operated a Duncan School of Dance. While avoiding intrusive clinical analysis, the author delves into the background of the protagonists of this drama, explaining the dynamics of each of Isadora's romantic relationships. With perceptiveness arising from evident mastery of her subject, Blair probes the motivations behind both the self-destructiveness and the yearning for maternity which in her latter days rendered Duncan a tortured Niobe, drawn by her need to nurture and love, but unsuccessful in her implacable efforts to achieve either.

The counterproductiveness of these contending forces is clearly evident in Duncan's precipitous efforts to establish schools which offered continuity for the style of dance to which she had given birth. At the same time, by continually battling the status quo in order to justify her unique lifestyle, she alienated every source of possible support, including a steamily ruffled Walter Lippman as well as the "bourgeois Philistines of Boston" before whom she danced wearing a scarf of Soviet red as an insignia of her new allegiance. As a result of such impolitic challenges, the daring innovator once described as a "sister to Samothrace," for a time even found herself to be a woman without a country.

Despite the roiling tensions of her personal life, Isadora Duncan successfully popularized the new mode of dance which was individually expressive, liberating and, above all, natural, emanating deep from within the center of the body. To achieve this, she tirelessly devoted herself to the study of how the fundamentals of shape and dynamics could convey both gravity and weightlessness as well as meaning. As Blair points out, the historic significance of these innovations lies in their legacy. It is a matter of record that Duncan's



Isadora Duncan.

classical, folk, and work themes inspired groups as diverse as Denishawn and the Moisevitch Dancers. Her magical use of movement and gesture admittedly inspired Pavlova in the "dying swan" sequence as well as Fokine and Diaghilev.

No less innovative was her use of the single color draped stage set and the introduction of the Greek tunic to achieve a freedom of movement and to display "the ideal form of woman." Her use of classical musical compositions, while challenged by some, gave new importance and dignity to what had often been reviewed as little more than a decorative art. As a result, in the estimation of Agnes de Mille, she elevated the status of the dance.

Although regrettably it appears that no cinematic record remains of this remarkable dance interpreter, her contributions are unquestioned. In the words of Michael Fokine: "She was the greatest American gift to dance." This stunning volume significantly enhances our appreciation of that gift. CHS

The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco, 1849-1900.

By Jacqueline Baker Barnhart. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986, 136 pp., \$15.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, *Instructor of History, Diablo Valley College.*

The history of women in California and the West remains largely unwritten. Women are invisible in most accounts, their contributions often deemed unimportant.

When attention has been paid to the role of women, historians have tended to portray them in stereotyped images. Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller recently assembled these images into four major categories: gentle tamers, help-mates, hell-raisers, and bad women. The gentle-tamer category includes all those imagined women who carried westward the trappings of civilization, and who assumed the major responsibility for re-establishing the social and cultural values of their former homes. The help-mates were the long-suffering women who not only performed traditional chores but who also helped by doing "men's work" during times of need. More masculine women were the hell-raisers, the Calamity Janes who acted more like men than women. Bad women, quite simply, were the prostitutes. Jensen and Miller challenge historians to move beyond these stereotypes, to ask new questions, and to apply more sophisticated methods of analysis. What

is most needed, they conclude, are studies of how women fit into the economic structure of the West through their labor.

Jacqueline Baker Barnhart, as if in response to the call of Jensen and Miller, re-examines one of the most common stereotypical roles of western women. She analyzes the prostitutes of San Francisco, not as deviants or victims, but as a group of professional workers. She places them within the tradition of gold-rush entrepreneurship, noting that most prostitutes came to California seeking economic opportunity and that many were willing to leave lucrative jobs working for others to open businesses of their own. In stressing the economic motive of these westering women, Barnhart confirms that for many nineteenth-century Americans California was indeed synonymous with opportunity.

Barnhart pays special attention to the complex economic structure of prostitution. In the early period, 1849 to 1850, prostitution in San Francisco was relatively undifferentiated. Most prostitutes were of the entrepreneurial elite known as parlor-house prostitutes. In a society over ninety percent male, the market was clearly in their favor. The prostitutes' ability to take advantage of this unique opportunity determined their economic success and social freedom. As market conditions changed, other categories of prostitutes appeared and competition increased.

A major contribution of Barnhart's work is her analysis of the relationship of prostitution to the larger society. In the period 1849 to 1870 prostitutes were at first admired, then tolerated, and finally ostracized. The changing status of the prostitutes was reflected in the terms used to describe them. Between 1849 and 1851 prostitutes were known by a variety of euphemisms. The coarse and abusive term *whore*, according to Barnhart, was never used. Twenty years later the term was commonly used, and prostitution was no longer tolerated. With the arrival of families—gentle tamers included—San Francisco fell

"under the influence of the Victorians," and prostitution was seen as a threat to public respectability.

Like most practitioners of the new social history, Barnhart is also interested in the question of social mobility. She describes the causes of upward and downward mobility, but is unable to answer the question of whether the San Francisco prostitutes enjoyed greater or lesser mobility than their counterparts back east.

The Fair but Frail is a slim volume, suggestive rather than comprehensive. It is a valuable book, an important contribution to the yet to be written history of California women. CHS

"The Tools of My Trade": The Annotated Books in Jack London's Library

By David Mike Hamilton. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986, 326 + xiv pp., illus., \$25.00 cloth).

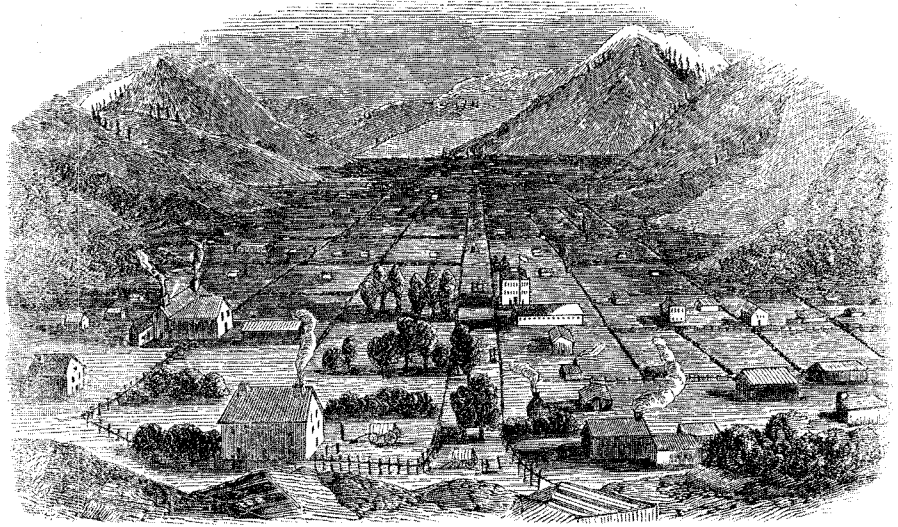
Reviewed by Earle Labor, *Professor of English at Centenary College of Louisiana and editor of the forthcoming The Letters of Jack London.*

"I regard books in my library in much the same way that a sea captain regards the charts in his chart-room," Jack London wrote to *The North American* in 1913. "It is manifestly impossible for a sea captain to carry in his head the memory of all the reefs, rocks, shoals, harbors, points, lighthouses, beacons and buoys of all the coasts of all the world; and no sea captain ever endeavors to store his head with such a mass of knowledge. What he does is to know his way about the chart-room, and when he picks up a new coast, he takes out the proper chart and has immediate access to all information about that coast. So it should be with books . . . I, for one, never can have too many books; nor can my books cover too many subjects."

Contrary to his popular impression, Jack London was—as David Mike Hamilton's new book makes clear—essentially a scholar in the Emersonian sense: influenced as much by books as by nature and action. He read widely, avidly, and omnivorously. Moreover, he assimilated what he read and used much of it in his own practical affairs: sailing, ranching, and—most important—writing. Great fictions like *The Call of the Wild*, *The Sea-Wolf*, "To Build a Fire," "Love of Life," and *The Star Rover* were in fact drawn more from his reading than from his living. During his lifetime he accumulated a library of over fifteen thousand volumes on an astonishing diversity of subjects: "evolution, biology, psychology, economics, political [theory], travel, navigation, and philosophy, as well as drama, poetry, and fiction"—in short, says Hamilton, "on almost every conceivable subject." The record of London's annotations in these volumes—instructively complemented by Hamilton's own commentaries about London's life and works—provides us with fresh, direct insights into the complex process of authorship.

That process was initiated at a very early age. "I learned to read and write about my fifth year," London attested in a letter to his first publisher, Houghton Mifflin. "Folks say I simply insisted on being taught . . . Remember reading some of Trowbridge's works for boys at six years of age. At seven I was reading Paul du Chaillu's *Travels*, Captain Cook's *Voyages*, and *Life of Garfield*. All through this period I devoured what Seaside Library novels I could borrow from womenfolk and dime novels from the farm hands. At eight I was deep in Ouida and Washington Irving. Also during this period read a great deal of American History." By the age of twenty London had read *Das Kapital*, the *Communist Manifesto*, and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. When he went to the Klondike at the age of twenty-one, he carried his personal copy of Marx, along with Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, Spencer's *Phi-*

CHS LIBRARY, SAN FRANCISCO



Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, 1851. Lithograph by E.C. Roberts for Golden Era.

losophy of Style, and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. The influence of all four is evident in his writings, as is that of such other favorites as Shakespeare, Browning, Poe, Melville, Tolstoy, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Kipling, Stevenson, and William (but not Henry, whom he claimed he could not read) James. Kipling (for his style) and Spenser (for his philosophy) are perhaps the strongest early influences. London's later works are more powerfully shaped by the fiction of Joseph Conrad and by the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud, whom he had read during the summer of 1912, and C.G. Jung, whose *Psychology of the Unconscious* he discovered six months before his death in 1916. Hamilton has counted more than three hundred notations in this latter volume and suggests that, had London lived longer, it "might have influenced his writing more than any other." In any case, London wrote a half-dozen stories during his last months into which he incorporated Jung's ideas about the unconscious—the first American fiction to be deliberately informed by Jungian theory. Only recently have these unique creations been discovered by our academic critics.

Other significant discoveries will undoubtedly be made as those critics encounter Hamilton's excellent study, which should be graded as an indispensable tool to the London scholar's trade. [CHS]

Gold Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City 1849 and 1850.

By Brigham D. Madsen. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983. xii, 178 pp. \$17.50 cloth)

Reviewed by M. Guy Bishop, Los Angeles County Museum, author of various articles on nineteenth century Utah railroad history and on the anti-slavery activities of the Lyman Beecher family.

The interaction between Mormon settlers in the valley of the Great Salt Lake and gold rushes migrating to California during 1849 and 1850 has proven to be a topic worthy of scholarly consideration. This highly readable monograph by Brigham D. Madsen, professor of history at the University of Utah, seeks to analyze the economic and social relationships which were formed between Mormons and non-Mormons during this two-year period.

Madsen's narrative begins with the settlement of the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 by the vanguard of Latter-day Saint refugees driven from the Midwest by religious persecution. In June of 1849, when the first westbound argonauts arrived at the Mormon Halfway House of Great

Salt Lake City, there were some 4,200 residents dwelling mostly in adobe or wagon-box homes. This was not, however, the first Mormon involvement with the gold rush. Several Latter-day Saints, recently released from the Mormon Battalion, were employees of Johann Sutter and were present when James Marshall made his famous discovery in January 1848. By the spring of the following year the human flood across the continent was underway and Salt Lake City proved to be a conveniently located oasis for many exhausted, hungry, or sick overlanders.

The Mormons tended to view the arrival of the argonauts with mixed opinions. They had, after all, migrated to the Great Basin to escape the Gentile world. But by 1849 the Saints were in need of many of the items which overburdened gold rushers had to trade. In return the Mormons provided the wayfarers with fresh animals, home cooked meals, and, if needed, medical assistance. As the author has surmised, it was a mutually beneficial arrangement.

Some sojourners complained about the treatment they received from the Mormons. They accused the Saints of charging exorbitant prices and dishonest business practices. But the most frequent commentaries centered upon the Mormons' religious practices—particularly plural marriage (polygamy). The debate over the relationship between Saints and Gentiles at Salt Lake City has not necessarily been settled by recent scholars. The late John D. Unruh, Jr., in his path-breaking study *The Plains Across*, wrote in regard to those gold rushers who stayed for an extended period at the Mormon city that many "deeply regretted their decision" to linger. Professor Madsen has taken a different stand. He states that for the 1849-1850 period, the gold seekers and their hosts left a "heritage of friendship and good feelings" (p. 125).

While perhaps still leaving some aspects of this Mormon-Gentile relationship open to further discussion, *Gold*

Rush Sojourners in Great Salt Lake City has made a solid contribution to the study of the social and economic history of the era. The book is complimented by informative maps and well chosen illustrations. It should prove to be a welcome addition for libraries, scholars, and collectors of Western Americana. CHS

Barons of Labor: The San Francisco Building Trades and Union Power in the Progressive Era

By Michael Kazin (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987, xiv + 319 pp., \$24.95 cloth).

Reviewed by David F. Selvin, editor emeritus, Northern California Labor, labor historian.

Over a period of some thirty years—stretching roughly from a depression in the 1890s to another in 1921—the Building Trades Council (BTC) of San Francisco, as Michael Kazin sees it, "accumulated, used, and then lost a great deal of urban power." It won and held an overpowering, often arbitrary, dominance over the city's building industry. It invaded and captured a prominent place and influence in the city's political life. It gave voice to "the aspirations, cultural practices, and racial prejudices" of the white workers who were its constituents. It contributed mightily to the city's national reputation as "a good union town." In the end, it fell victim to a broadly-based, well-financed, and determined anti-union, open-shop campaign.

Kazin argues effectively for a fresh view that sees unionism of the time, not in terms of the "pure and simple" so favored by some historians, but as a significant force that fought for a voice in the political, as well as the economic, decisions of its time. His account traces

the BTC's political involvement, and especially that of P.H. McCarthy, its chief architect and spokesman, from opposition to the Union Labor Party to McCarthy's election as its candidate for mayor. It was a political force, often feared, frequently effective, and devoted in the main to the progressive creed of the day.

Kazin, too, describes the system devised principally by McCarthy as a rigid and arbitrary substitute for collective bargaining. He records the unhappiness of contractors with the BTC's many work rules and dictatorial ways and the appropriate union responses. And his account covers in detail the differences, as well as the moments of accord, between the BTC and the San Francisco Labor Council, which represented the city's other—and larger—trade union movement.

Overall, Kazin offers a close-up and highly useful view of the BTC during that decisive time. It fills in many of the gaps, the crevices and potholes in the few customary accounts of San Francisco's turbulent labor history. It accords the building trades their rightful place in that panorama. And it has been crafted with impeccable research and admirable style.

The same record can be seen from a somewhat different perspective. For example, the BTC's ironfisted job control bore little resemblance to collective bargaining as unionists came to understand it. It simply replaced employer dictation with union—BTC—dictation. Reinforced by its political aggressiveness, BTC's rule raised the union-haters' anger above its usual, endemic level and constituted a major force in inciting the drive that brought the BTC down—not that the union-haters needed an excuse, but here was reason enough, ready-made confirmation of all the evil they had come to believe about unionism.

The question needs to be asked whether the McCarthy formula produced edible and otherwise useful gains for the men on the job. The sketchy wage history in an appendix shows virtually no



Campaign postcard for P.H. McCarthy, leader of the Building Trades Council and mayor of San Francisco, 1910-1912.

gains in wage rates (for six trades for which figures are provided) from 1908 to 1916. In that same period, average wage rates for journeyman building tradesmen across the country rose 24 percent. The comparison should not be pressed too far—explanations other than the obvious are quite possible and other yardsticks could be employed—but what was the impact of the BTC on the everyday lives of building tradesmen—their earnings, living standards, lifestyles?

Kazin does not skimp on the BTC's problems with the rest of the labor movement, in both economic and political battle. All too often concord or discord seems to hang on McCarthy's personality or ambition, rather than any necessary trade union difference. The BTC's separatism, though, was a serious chink in San Francisco labor's armor.

My alternative view may be no more than a matter of emphasis, surely the

author's prerogative; but it might, on the other hand, seriously affect the way in which trade unionism—the BTC kind of unionism—is interpreted to the reader. If that question interests you, Kazin provides an abundance of data for pondering the matter. CHS

Southern Pacific.

By Bill Yenne. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1985, \$9.95 paper).

Reviewed by Richard J. Orsi, Professor of History, California State University, Hayward.

This slim, inexpensive volume is not a comprehensive, scholarly history of the Southern Pacific Company, but then it should not be read—or reviewed—as one. To be sure, the author aspires to

cover a subject too vast, complex, and significant for 126 pages; he could have been more critical of the railroad's role in the development of the American West; and he writes, for the most part, without documentation. *Southern Pacific* was, however, intended not as a reference work for experts, but for general readers seeking a succinct survey, along with brilliant visual images. Within its genre, this is a fine book.

Highlighting the volume and consuming most of its space are more than 150 photographs, some of them taken by Yenne himself. The photographs, along with excellent maps drawn by the author, vividly document California's most important historic corporation, from its founding as the Central Pacific Railroad in 1861, to its on-again, off-again, merger into the arch-rival Santa Fe in the 1980s. To Yenne's credit, he chose artistic and historically valuable photographs, many

of which have never, or rarely, been published. These include not only the customary portraits of the powerful and famous leaders who have long been associated in the public eye with the Southern Pacific—the likes of Judah, Stanford, Huntington, and Harriman—but also photographs of ordinary railroad workers. From the assemblage of rumped, bewhiskered Sacramento shops men, mugging the camera in 1889, radiates the skill, grit, and good humor of thousands of laborers, without whom this great company could never have been built and operated (p. 27). Binding these vivid images together is Yenne's lucid narrative, enlivened with passages from original letters, speeches, documents, and recollections.

Its brevity and a few factual errors aside, the book manages to cover much good history and to suggest—though rarely explained fully—some fresh insights into the Southern Pacific's complex history. Rather than following the lead of many writers who have romanticized Theodore Judah's contributions, Yenne properly emphasizes the role of the Big Four in organizing and financing the Central Pacific and then pulling off the miracle of its construction. Yenne also attempts to integrate the railroad's history with that of its hinterland and to point out what most academic historians have ignored, that the Southern Pacific often played a positive, creative role in the settlement and development of the West. Overall, Yenne maintains a balanced stance towards a controversial subject.

The book is marred by some flaws. There are too many, repetitious mug shots of locomotives, undoubtedly to the delight of rail buffs. Yenne's account of some important episodes—such as the Big Four's consolidation of their holdings into the Southern Pacific Company in the 1880s—is so attenuated as to be misleading. Yenne also avoids some uncomfortable subjects, such as labor discontent and Huntington's embittering ouster of Stanford as company president in 1890.

The book's most serious weakness, however, is Yenne's dismissal of anti-railroad movements as conspiracies by a few "zealous crusaders and issue-hungry politicians" to attack an overwhelmingly popular railroad (p. 74). While the traditional anti-railroad historiography has exaggerated to the extreme both the Southern Pacific's malevolence and the public's opposition, one cannot ignore the real economic and political conflicts that the company, and railroads in general, aroused.

All in all, though, this is a satisfying book. Those interested in a more comprehensive treatment, particularly for the twentieth century, should consult Don Hofsommer's *The Southern Pacific, 1901–1985*. Readers seeking a brief, but lively and informative introduction to the railroad's history will enjoy Yenne's volume. [CHS]

"The Politics of Insurgency: The Farm Worker Movement in the 1960s."

By J. Craig Jenkins. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 320 pp., \$35.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Mario T. Garcia, Professor of History and Chicano Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara.

The plight of the California farmworker is not an unknown story. The early studies of Carey McWilliams, Paul Taylor, and Ernesto Galarza come readily to mind, not to mention John Steinbeck's fictive accounts of the Oakies and Arkies of the San Joaquin Valley. The history of Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers has also received its share of popular and scholarly attention. Jenkins' history of farmworkers in California does not necessarily break new ground; however, it is one of the first scholarly studies of its kind that puts the farmworkers' movement of the 1960s and 1970s into the proper historical perspective.

As Jenkins correctly notes, the history of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is a subject of the history of the insurgent social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Jenkins sees his study as primarily one of the 1960s using the farmworkers' movement as a case study of what he terms the politics of insurgency. According to Jenkins, the farmworker exemplified the basic goals, strategies, and characteristics of the sixties social movement. He defines social movements as insurgencies aimed to further the interests of previously unorganized and excluded groups. Social movements of the 1960s utilized protest actions to mobilize external support. While earlier writings on social movements have discounted their impact on social change, believing them to be too transitory and marginal, Jenkins, like many scholars trained in the 1960s, revises this view and persuasively argues that indigenous social movements in fact produce significant change.

Jenkins compares the contemporary movement with that of the earlier efforts by the National Farm Labor Union (1947–1952) and the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (1958–1966). While all these efforts to organize farmworkers had similar goals, only the UFW succeeded due, according to Jenkins, to its strategy of mobilization built on both organizing workers and external supporters and due to the favorable political environment of the 1960s, far more conducive to reform than the Cold War years of the late 1940s and 1950s.

Jenkins makes a good case that the success of the contemporary movement has much to do with its emergence in the tumultuous 1960s. Understanding the spirit of the times, the UFW combined a basic labor struggle with a broader social movement that captured national attention and positioned the movement with what Jenkins considers the left-of-center governing coalition of the 1960s.

Jenkins' study is useful, although it promises more than it delivers. In presenting his study as a means of better

conceptualizing social movements, Jenkins gets bogged down in detail. The title, moreover, is deceiving since he should have integrated theory and history to a much greater extent. The prose is cumbersome; Jenkins's editor was apparently unable to find a bilingual proof-reader to check the names and titles. Moreover, since most of Jenkins's data goes no further than 1980, his conclusions concerning UFW successes do not take into account the rollback in the 1980s of many earlier gains. Finally, Jenkins gives too much credit, perhaps, to external forces in explaining the success of the UFW. Although he recognizes the farmworkers' movement as an indigenous mass-based insurgency, the farm worker is not placed at center stage. Greater accessibility of the UFW archives at Wayne State University will, in time, increase public awareness and understanding of the history of the United Farm Workers.

Jenkins's study is important and can be usefully integrated with the broader history of the 1960s, of western agriculture, labor history, and Chicanos. CHS

Wallace Neff: Architect of California's Golden Age.

Compiled and edited by Wallace Neff, Jr. Text by Alson Clark. Foreword by David Gebhard. (Santa Barbara, CA.: Capra Press, 1986. 232 pp., \$50.00 cloth).

Reviewed by Robert W. Winter, Arthur G. Coons Professor of the History of Ideas, Occidental College.

Anyone interested in fine architecture in the United States in the twenties and thirties must look to Southern California. Few architectural historians have. Even the pioneers of the modern movement, R.M. Schindler and Richard Neutra, have not received the attention they deserve, except from Southern Califor-

nians. The "second generation" of the followers of the machine esthetic in the Southland would be unknown except for Esther McCoy's book on them. Somewhat broader in scope is David Gebhard's and Harriette von Breton's *L.A. in the Thirties* (1975) which covers various aspects of the modern and also the period revivals of the time.

That we know anything about the individual period revivalists is largely thanks to Gebhard and to Alson Clark, the author of the text of this book on Wallace Neff, next to George Washington Smith of Montecito, the greatest of them. Born to wealth, Neff grew up in Altadena in the wonderful Queen Anne style house that his grandfather, Andrew McNally, had built. Its fabulous Islamic smoking room was said to be a fragment of the Turkish Pavilion at the 1893 Chicago Worlds Columbian Exposition of which McNally had been a commissioner. Wallace's romantic nature was thus given the ambience and the capital on which it could flourish. It was further burnished by his Swiss grammar school education, which seems to have consisted largely of languages, painting and drawing. It was not good enough to gain him entrance to Pasadena's Throop Polytechnic Institute, now Cal Tech, but Ralph Adams Cram, the architectural doyen of M.I.T., thought it was just the thing to prepare Neff for his great bastion of American Beaux-Art training and entered him as a special student in 1915. Although his talent for drawing was immediately apparent, Neff did not graduate from M.I.T. America's entry into World War I brought him back to Southern California and a job in the ship-building industry. The war was short, and in 1919 Neff was able to launch into a career in architecture by designing a weekend cottage for his mother.

After a short stint as a designer for a speculative builder, he managed to get an architect's license in 1921 and opened his own office the next year. Charming, intelligent and talented, he quickly built up a practice in Pasadena, a town cele-

brated as the wealthiest per capita in the United States. By 1927 he was turning down commissions for houses costing under \$50,000. Those that qualified can be spotted throughout the most affluent areas of Pasadena and San Marino. The movie colony heard of him and soon the Hollywood Hills were dotted with houses designed by Neff. Most are very large.

His finest works are in the style loosely termed Mediterranean, an amalgam of details derived from Italian and Spanish Renaissance architecture and massing from the rural architecture of those styles and even of North African Islamic work. Neff gave his clients a romantic atmosphere that enhanced the lives of lawyers, doctors, and business people as well as the movie-makers whose fantasy life extended beyond their work. He could draw on his European sketches for English Tudor and Norman features. When a Los Angeles doctor asked him to build a country house whose facade would be a two-thirds scale replica of the Villa Col-lazzi attributed to Michelangelo, he carried through but fifty years later was still angry about having to imitate anything. Like other derivative architects of the period, he had no intention of producing facsimiles. His aim was to get ideas from the past and then manipulate them in his own way.

His success was sustained well into the 1960s when the modern movement dominated the architectural journals. Commissions diminished but only toward the end of his life in 1982 did his designing hand lose its touch. All this is well told by Alson Clark in a long essay and then in more specific notices, accompanying pictures and floor-plans. The pictures are mostly excellent and well-produced, many of them contemporary with the early years of the houses. We are just as grateful for the floor-plans from which we derive as much information as from pictures and text.

Neff was an image-maker important in creating the myth of Southern California. This book does justice to the man and the myth. CHS

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Glenn E. Humphreys, Curator of the Kemble Collections
on Western Publishing and Printing

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, and price.

Adams, Charles F. *Heroes of the Golden Gate*. Palo Alto: Pacific Books Publishers, 1987. \$24.95. Order from: Pacific Books Publishers; P.O. Box 558; Palo Alto, CA 94302-0558.

Andrews, Edna May, et al. *History of Concord, Its Progress and Promise*. Concord, CA: Concord Historical Society, 1986. \$31.90 (cloth; plus \$2.00 postage). Order from: Concord Historical Society; P.O. Box 404; Concord, CA 94522.

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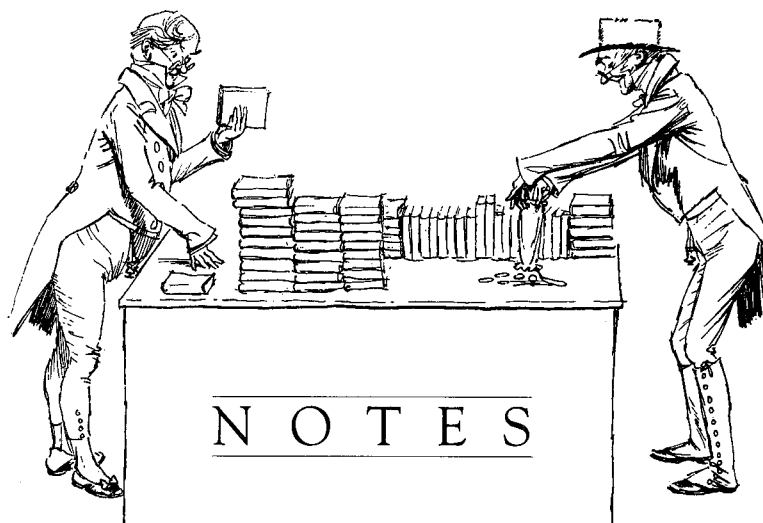
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I wish to thank the National Endowment for the Humanities for a very generous Research Division grant which permitted travel funds, research monies, and salary. I also appreciate the financial assistance of the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and the American Philosophical Society, the institutional support of the University of California, San Diego, and the assistance of Elizabeth Snapp, Director of Libraries, Texas Woman's University. The Regional Oral History Office at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, made all their research records pertaining to their substantial interview project on Douglas as well as on California political women available to me. The staff of the Carl Albert Congressional Research Center and the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma have patiently helped me during this long-term project. Helen Douglas permitted me access to her private files. In addition, I had the unusual opportunity to live with her for two weeks while going through her private papers. Melvyn Douglas, family members, and close friends of the Douglasses have shared important family materials and have granted permission for interviews. I also appreciate Martha Kendall Winnacker, editor of *California History*, for her interest in Douglas, her willingness to wait for the article until I had essentially completed my book, her historical, editorial, and artistic skills, and her good sense of humor.

Since this article scans Douglas's life through the 1950 campaign, drawing from an almost completed book manuscript, it became a challenge to decide how to limit the footnotes. My primary research has included the use of over one hundred manuscript collections in a wide variety of archives, various oral history collections, my own interviews, and materials from private individuals.

The footnotes only suggest the different sorts of information sources I have found helpful in developing the manuscript. My citations from the voluminous literature on Broadway, Hollywood, Democratic politics, and the Roosevelt and Truman years are limited to works which specifically treat Douglas or deal with key topics for this article. I have, however, drawn on this literature in formulating my ideas. A full documentation which will include references to the materials about Douglas's personal life will appear in my forthcoming biography of Helen Gahagan Douglas, to be published by Atheneum Publishers. Transcripts of my interviews have been deposited in the Indiana University Oral History Project archives and will become available to researchers after publication of the book.

1. Los Angeles *Times*, July 1 and 12, 1980; Claremont *Courier*, July 16, 1980; H. L. Mitchell, "In Memory of an Early Friend of the Farm Worker," [mimeographed, n.d.]; and U.S., Senate, 96th Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record*, June 30, 1980, v. 126, pt. 14, pp. 17939-40, and August 5, 1980, pt. 16, p. 21382.
2. Ernest Lilienthal to Melvyn Douglas (MD), July 20, 1980; Claude Pepper to MD, July 22, 1980; and Harry R. Major to MD, June 29, 1980, all in Melvyn Douglas Private Papers (MDPP).
3. Helen Gahagan Douglas, "Congresswoman, Actress, and Opera Singer," an oral history conducted in 1973, 1974, and 1976 by Amelia Fry, in Helen Gahagan Douglas Oral History Project, Vol. IV, Regional Oral History Project, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1982, p. 4 [hereafter referred to as ROHO Interview with Douglas.] Further citations to the Douglas project will be referenced as the HGD ROHO Project. Other sources

providing information on Gahagan's early life include Helen Gahagan Douglas, *A Full Life* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1982); author's interview with Martha Allen, March 28, 1981; author's interview with Walter Gahagan, Jr., October 26, 1980; and various family papers. As Douglas's ROHO interview and her autobiography make repeated reference to the themes mentioned in this article, I do not specifically cite them unless I have used a direct quotation or need to refer to an important point in these documents. The same holds true for Melvyn Douglas and Tom Arthur, *See You at the Movies: The Autobiography of Melvyn Douglas* (Lanham, Maryland: The University Press of America, 1986), which draws principally from Arthur's interviews with Melvyn Douglas. But the book is helpful in building a picture of Helen and Melvyn and their lives together.

Various books, manuscript materials, and pamphlets provide information on Brooklyn and the Park Slope district, including Henry W. B. Howard, ed. *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 1893); *Trow Business Directory of Brooklyn and Queens* for the early twentieth century; Ralph Foster Weld, *Brooklyn Is America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950); David Ment, *The Shaping of a City: A Brief History of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, 1979); and Brooklyn Rediscovery and Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, *Building Blocks of Brooklyn: A Study of Urban Growth* (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Educational and Cultural Alliance, 1979).

4. Various printed materials from the Berkeley Institute including *The Berkeleyan*, 1905–1917, plus newspaper

articles and other materials relating to the Capon School and Dartmouth College.

5. On the history of Barnard College see, for example, Alice Duer Miller and Susan Myers, *Barnard College: The First Fifty Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939) and Marian Churchill White, *A History of Barnard College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). For life at Barnard College see *Barnard Bulletin*, 1920–22, college archival material, author's interviews with Alis De Sola, May 26 and 27, 1980, and De Sola, "Helen Gahagan Douglas—College and the Theater," an oral history conducted in 1976 by Amelia Fry in HGD ROHO Project, Vol. III. The De Sola interviews are also helpful on Gahagan's decision to leave Barnard.

6. Reviews of Gahagan's plays and interviews with her throughout her Broadway period appeared in numerous New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington papers plus local newspapers which reviewed her touring shows. As the 1920s witnessed an improvement not only in the quality of plays but also in dramatic criticism, Gahagan had the opportunity to be reviewed by a number of noted critics, some of them theatre scholars, including Brooks Atkinson, Heywood Brown, George Jean Nathan, Kenneth MacGowan, and Alexander Woollcott. Many books provide overviews of legitimate theatre in the 1920s; Burns Mantle's *Best Plays*, published annually, offers useful compilations and commentaries.

In addition to *Young Woodley*, productions with Tyler included the starring roles in two all-star touring groups performing revivals of Sir Arthur Wing Pinero's *Trelawney of the Wells* and Victorien Sardou's *Diplomacy*.

On Gahagan's move to voice, see in particular Douglas's autobiographical materials listed in footnote #3 and newspaper interviews with Gahagan, including the New York *American*, June 10, 1928.

7. Author's interviews with De Sola

and Elizabeth Evans's interview with George Cehanovska, January 24, 1975, in Helen Gahagan Douglas Personal Papers (HGDPP). Her concerts included stops in Ostrava, Czechoslovakia; The Hague; and the Salzberg Festival. Reviews appeared in numerous papers including *Moravskoslezský deník* in Ostrava, *Leendert Swaneveld* from Scheveningen, near The Hague, and the *Salzburger Chronik*. Translations from the originals suggest that Gahagan's perception of her success resulted from the "selective" translations that her agent used in American publicity about her European tours. Among the letters which discuss her feelings about her European tours is Gahagan to her mother, Lillian Gahagan, July 25, 1929 (HGDPP).

8. Melvyn Douglas, born Melvyn Hesselberg, was the son of the Russian Jewish pianist Edouard Hesselberg and Lena Shakelford, a Kentucky girl. Melvyn had had various stage experiences with stock companies as well as a year with the noted Detroit producer-director Jesse Bonstelle's repertory group. He made his Broadway debut in 1927 at which time he changed his last name to Douglas, a family name from his mother's side. Much material exists on Douglas's personal and professional life; see, for example, Hollywood trade papers from the 1930s through the 1970s, "Melvyn Douglas Biography," MDP, Douglas and Arthur, *See You at the Movies*, and Melvyn Douglas obituaries.

Dozens of articles about *Tonight or Never* appeared in New York papers—reviews on and interviews with Gahagan, articles on Belasco (who died during the run), and accounts of the wedding. Several critics considered Gahagan one of the top four or five actresses on Broadway in the 1930 season. See for example, New York City *Variety*, January 28, 1931.

9. On Hollywood in the 1930s, see, for example, Leo C. Rosten, *Hollywood: The Movie Colony*, *The Movie Makers* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1941) and Arthur Knight, *The Liveliest Art: A Panoramic History*

of the Movies (New York: Macmillan, 1957). Gahagan's numerous performances from 1931 to 1937 included a disastrous vaudeville performance in 1932, the two Broadway plays were written by California playwright and family friend, Dan Tothoroh—*Moor Born* and *Mother Lode* in 1934, and the lead in Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow* with the Los Angeles Civic Light Opera, in 1936. De Sola's interviews offer good material for this period.

10. Gahagan sang in most of the same cities as on her earlier trip but she added Paris, Prague, and Budapest. She was reviewed after each concert by the local papers. Gahagan described the Nazi contact on many occasions in later life; see ROHO Interview with Douglas, pp. 49–50; *A Full Life*, pp. 130–33; in an interview with Lee Israel reported in "Helen Gahagan Douglas," *Ms.*, II, No. 4 (Oct. 1973), pp. 112–13; and in author's interviews with De Sola.
11. Walter Pick, "A Closer Look at the Family and Professional Life of Helen Gahagan Douglas and Melvyn Douglas," an oral history conducted 1978 by Ingrid Winther Scobie in the HGD ROHO Project, vol. III, p. 123 (hereafter cited as ROHO interview with Pick).
12. Kevin Lewis, "The Two Careers of Melvyn Douglas," *Films in Review*, XXXII, No. 8 (October 1981), pp. 458–59.
13. Various books discuss the shift of political awareness in Hollywood. See, for example, Larry Ceplair and Stephen Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930–1960* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980) and John Russell Taylor, *Strangers in Paradise: The Hollywood Emigrés, 1933–1950* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983).

Although John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, published in 1938, stirred the widest public concern for the migrant plight, other books including Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1939) helped call attention to this problem.

14. See, for example, "Summary Report of 'Christmas for One-Third of The Nation'" Project, n.d. [December 1938], Helen Gahagan Douglas Collection, Carl Albert Center, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Box 222, Folder 6 (hereafter cited as HGD Papers); "Program of the John Steinbeck Committee of Northern California," n.d. [1939], HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 17; Map, "Streams of Interstate Farm Labor Migration" [with notations by Gahagan], [n.d.] [1939], HGD Papers, Box 167, Folder 1; Buell Maben, Acting Director, State Relief Administration, to HGD, March 25, 1939, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 17; "Helen Gahagan Plays a Leading Role in Progressive Hollywood," *Daily Worker*, June 6, 1939, clipping in Players Collection, Performing Arts Research Center, the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. During this period, the Douglasses also expanded their friendships outside of Hollywood. They became particularly close, for example, to Remsen Bird, president of Occidental College, and his wife Helen.
15. In the HGD Papers are dozens of letters from groups such as the organizers of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and various chapters of the League of Women Voters, asking her to speak on migrants. For quote see Arthur Goldschmidt, Douglas Memorial Service, December 2, 1980, New York City, Ingrid Winther Scobie collection of unpublished materials on Douglas.
16. Letter, Aubrey Williams to FDR, July 18, 1939, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Papers, Official File, 444d, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library hereafter cited as FDR Library. Correspondence between Helen Douglas and Eleanor Roosevelt (ER) are in the Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, FDR Library, and the HGD Papers. For further elaboration on the early months of the relationship between ER and HGD as well as Douglas's quick climb in Democratic politics see Ingrid Winther Scobie, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and the Roosevelt Connection," in Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman eds, *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 153-75.
17. Douglas resigned because the committee took action on certain issues with which she did not agree. (HGD to Executive Board, Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers, March 29, 1941, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 17).
18. HGD to Jerry Voorhis, March 12, 1940, HGD Papers, Box 212, Folder 9.
19. Helen Gahagan, "FSA Aids Migratory Worker," *The Democratic Digest*, XVII, No. 2 (February 1940), p. 37. Documentation of Gahagan's involvement with the Women's Division at the state and national level and the California Democratic Party is located in various manuscript collections including the Mary M. Dewson Papers, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt Papers (hereafter cited as ER Papers), Lorena Hickok Papers, National Committee of the Democratic Party Papers (hereafter cited as DNC Papers) and the Women's Division, National Committee of the Democratic Party (hereafter cited as Women's Division Papers), all at the FDR Library; the Harold Ickes Collection, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, as well as the HGD Papers.
20. HGD to ER, March 31, 1941, HGD Papers, Box 216, Folder 1; ER to HGD, April 12, 1940, and HGD to ER, April 19, 1940, ER Papers, Personal Correspondence, Box 1547; HGD to Paul Taylor, April 8, 1940, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 8. ER wrote about the trip in several of her "My Day" columns at the beginning of April, 1940.
21. Scobie, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and the Roosevelt Connection," pp. 169-72. The fight between Jones and Gahagan continued all through Gahagan's political career. Materials on this relationship are located primarily in the HGD Papers and the Women's Division Papers. The New York Times and Women's Division press releases offer the most thorough coverage of women in the convention, including Gahagan. Many letters critical of Gahagan were sent between Democratic women in the months following the convention. Some were even directed to ER and FDR. See for example, Mrs. Willouby Rodman to ER, August 30, 1940, Women's Division Papers, Box 181, FDR Library.
22. Helen worked through the Women's Division, and both Helen and Melvyn helped organize the very active Hollywood for Roosevelt Committee. On the work of the committee see, for example, Ralph Block to Marguerite Lehand, FDR Papers as President, President's Personal File, Box 7024, FDR Library. On both Douglasses' contributions see Harold L. Ickes to Helen and Melvyn Douglas, November 7, 1940, HGD Papers, Box 212, Folder 23.
23. Author's interview with Malone, April 3, 1978.
24. For quote see Gladys Tillett to HGD, September 24, 1941, HGD Papers, Box 165, Folder 12. Extensive materials exist on this conference, particularly in the Women's Division Papers and the HGD Papers.
25. Documentation appears in numerous places in the Women's Division Papers. See also *A Full Life*, pp. 160-61.
26. The OCD affair over Melvyn's appointment is discussed in several places in the *Congressional Record*, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Melvyn Douglas Papers, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, The Washington Post, and the New York Times.
27. DNC Secretary to HGD, November 19, 1942, DNC Papers, Box 1144.
28. Author's interviews with Dorothy McAllister, March 3, 1981, and Lisa Bronson, March 21, 1980, offer useful insights into Douglas's Women's Division work and complement the Women's Division Papers, FDR Library.
29. See for example Thomas F. Ford to HGD, October 20, 1943, HGD Papers, Box 163, Folder 1.
30. "The House that Jack Can't Build," Speech before the Regional Conference of the National Association of Housing Officials, September 25, 1947, Harold Ickes Collection, Box 55, Library Manuscript Division

- (hereafter cited as Ickes Papers).
31. The most useful materials on the ethnic and socioeconomic composition of her district appear throughout the Ed Lybeck Papers, Special Collections, Collection 901, University of California, Los Angeles (hereafter cited as Lybeck Papers), in United States census data (both 1940 and a special 1945 mid-decade census), and author's interview with Susie Clifton, April 12, 1984.
 32. Fliers in HGDPP.
 33. Thomas F. Ford to Samson Lindauer, March 9, 1944, HGD Papers, Box 163, Folder 3, and HGD to Eleanor Roosevelt, March 16, 1944, ER Papers, Box 1756.
 34. HGD to Molly Dewson, March 31, 1944, Mary M. Dewson Papers, Box 20, FDR Library. Lillian Ford to HGD, May 30, 1944, HGD Papers, Box 163, Folder 1.
 35. The HGD Papers, the Lybeck Papers, the *California Eagle*, May, June, and September through November, 1944, and author's interview with Clifton provide the bulk of information about the campaign. Both ER and FDR followed the campaign closely. FDR wrote an endorsement letter for her campaign materials. The Roosevelts were delighted when Douglas won. See for example, FDR to HGD, November 27, 1944, Papers as President, President's Secretary Files, Box 151, FDR Library.
 36. Douglas continually expressed her concerns about the 79th Congress in speeches on the floor of Congress and to numerous groups as well as in letters (see the *Congressional Record*, HGD Papers and Lybeck Papers.) Alonzo L. Hamby, *Beyond the New Deal: Harry S. Truman and American Liberalism* (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1973) offers a good overview of postwar liberalism and is one of the few secondary works to examine Douglas's role in politics.
 37. Bills Douglas sponsored in the first session of the 79th Congress include one for a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission and an anti-poll-tax bill. She also spoke out on numerous other issues and included speeches of other liberals and newspapers editorials in the *Congressional Record Appendix*. See *Congressional Record*, 79th Congress.
 - Although Douglas did not stress her relationships to other women in Congress or women's issues, she did work against ERA, as did most Democrats and labor, and fought for an equal pay bill. Her closest woman friend in Congress was Representative Mary Norton from New Jersey. Two periodicals are very helpful in tracing women in political life during this period—*Independent Woman* which covered women of both parties and the *Democratic Digest* which limited itself to Democratic women. For good treatment of women in the New Deal, see Susan Ware, *Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981). On women in general in the 1930s see Ware, *Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982) and on women in the 1940s, Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).
 - The wealth of literature on women running for elective office, congressional style, congressional operations, and the House Foreign Affairs Committee was very useful in developing a sense of Douglas's style and evaluating her effectiveness as a member of Congress. One book specifically on women in Congress is Irwin N. Gertzog, *Congressional Women: Their Recruitment, Treatment, and Behavior* (New York: Praeger, 1984).
 38. Douglas's reliance on FDR is suggested in many speeches, including one to the Liberal Party dinner in New York in March 1945. See U.S., House, 79th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record Appendix*, March 26, 1945, v. 91, pt. 11, p. A1491.
 - Douglas's backing of Truman's policies is reflected throughout the *Congressional Record*, in letters, and in speeches (see HGD Papers). See for example her nationally broadcast speech over CBS entitled "Let Your Leaders in Washington Know," December 4, 1945, which was reprinted in the *Congressional Record Appendix* the following day (U.S., House, 79th Cong., 1st sess., v. 91, pt. 13, pp. A5316–17).
 39. She gave her speech entitled "My Democratic Credo" on the floor of Congress March 29, 1946. (U.S., House, 79th Cong., 2nd sess., *Congressional Record*, March 29, 1946, v. 92, pt. 3, pp. 2856–59). Numerous books detail the development and use of the atomic bomb. For a sequence on the passage of the Atomic Energy Act see for example Richard L. G. Hewlett and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., *A History of the United States Energy Commission, The New World, 1939–46*, Vol. I (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1962) and James R. Newman and Byron S. Miller, *The Control of Atomic Energy: A Study of Its Social, Economic and Political Implications* (N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1948). For a detailed study of Douglas's role, one has to use materials such as the *Congressional Quarterly*; the *Congressional Record*; HGD Papers; the *New York Times*; the *Washington Post* and Albert Cahn, "Helen Gahagan Douglas—The Lobby for Civilian Control of Atomic Energy," an oral history conducted 1978 by Ingrid Winther Scobie, in HGD ROHO Project. Colleen M. O'Connor, "Imagine the Unimaginable: Helen Gahagan Douglas, Women, and the Bomb," *Southern California Quarterly*, LXVII, No. 1 (Spring 1985), 35–50.
 40. See *Congressional Quarterly*, *Congressional Record* and HGD Papers. The *Chicago Defender* among many other black papers early praised Douglas for her civil rights work (*Chicago Defender*, January 13, 1945.)
 41. See in particular HGD Papers and Lybeck Papers. On Douglas working with ER see for example HGD to ER, May 13, 1942, HGD Papers, Box 216, Folder 1. On ER and civil rights see Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 120–22.
 - Material on the post office appears throughout documents from the first two terms in both the HGD Papers

- and the Lybeck Papers, UCLA. On Douglas and Bethune see, for example, Mary McLeod Bethune to HGD, March 14, 1945, HGD Papers, Box 23, Folder 4. Books on black soldiers do not acknowledge her contribution; see for example, Richard M. Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-53* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969).
42. See Lybeck Papers and two of the district's black papers, *California Eagle* and *Los Angeles Sentinel*, *Los Angeles Daily News*, and Florence (Susie) Clifton papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
43. HGD to the Lybecks, November 6, 1946, Lybeck Papers, Box 1, Folder 4.
44. See, for example, one of Douglas's many statements against Taft-Hartley in U.S., House, 80th Cong., 1st Sess., *Congressional Record*, April 17, 1947, v. 93, pt. 3, pp. 3650-51.
45. U.S., House, 80th Cong., 1st sess., *Congressional Record*, March 13, 1947, v. 93, pt. 2, pp. 2038-41.
46. On housing reform during the Truman period see Richard O. Davies, *Housing Reform During the Truman Administration* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966). Douglas's speeches on housing, inflation, and veterans appear frequently in the *Congressional Record* for the 80th Congress.
On hiring a black secretary see Lybeck Papers and Juanita Terry Barbee, "Helen Gahagan Douglas's Office Staff—Work and Relaxation," an oral history conducted 1976 by Fern Ingersoll, in HGD ROHO Project, vol. II.
47. Lybeck to HGD, March 15, 1948, Lybeck Papers, Box 1, Folder 9.
48. See for example, Ed Lybeck, Post-Campaign Report, 1948, Box 4, Folder 2 and other materials in the Lybeck Papers. The United Auto Worker Archives, Wayne State University include information in various collections about Douglas's campaign. Clifton Interview. The best papers for this campaign are the *Los Angeles Daily News* and the *California Eagle*, HGD Papers.
49. HGD Papers, particularly Boxes 211-14, and HGDPP.
50. Evie Chavoor was undoubtedly the most enthusiastic Douglas supporter along with Ed and Ruth Lybeck. Chavoor's interview with ROHO is very helpful for insights into the entire period for which she worked for the Douglasses. See Evelyn Chavoor, "Twenty-Four-Hour-A-Day Support Person," an oral history conducted 1980 by Fern Ingersoll in HGD ROHO Project, vol. II. Hereafter referred to as ROHO interview with Chavoor.
51. Alvin Meyers, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and the Campaigns for Congress," an oral history conducted 1980 by Ingrid Winther Scobie in HGD ROHO Project, vol. I. Although Ruth Lybeck continued as a key campaign person in 1950, Ed took a back seat. Hereafter referred to as ROHO interview with Meyers.
52. Douglas, *A Full Life*, p. 291. See also the Washington columnist Marquis Child's article [n.d.] (Clifton Papers).
53. HGD Papers, esp. Boxes 176-204. The most important pro-Douglas paper was the *California Eagle*. Once Boddy entered the race, his paper, the *Los Angeles Daily News*, turned against her.
54. See, for example, Richard M. Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1978), pp. 71-78.
55. See Scobie, "Helen Gahagan Douglas and Her 1950 Senate Race with Richard M. Nixon," *Southern California Quarterly*, LVIII, No. 1 (Spring 1976), 113-25, for some additional, though preliminary, ideas on the campaign. A host of books treat the 1950 race. Most agree that Nixon conducted a vicious campaign. See in particular Frank Mankiewicz, *Perfectly Clear: Nixon from Whittier to Watergate* (New York: Quandrangle, 1973), pp. 51-57, and Fawn M. Brodie, *Richard Nixon: The Shaping of His Character* (N.Y.: W.W. Norton and Co., 1981), p. 232. The first major book to contain a critical assessment of Douglas's campaign is Stephen E. Ambrose, *Nixon: The Education of a Politician, 1913-1962* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), pp. 197-223.
56. One measure of the loss of support was the reduced activity in Douglas campaign headquarters at the county level around the state. See in particular boxes 179 to 190 in HGD Papers. See also, for example, author's interview with John Vieg, March 22, 1980.
57. See, for example, ROHO interviews with Chavoor and Meyers.

Kamerling, Barbieri Portraits, pp. 262-277.

The author would like to thank the following people for their assistance in providing information helpful to this project: Ruth M. Pico and William A. Dougherty III, both descendants of Barbieri sitters; Mary H. Haggland, James Abajian, Jeanne Van Nostrand, Dr. Albert Shumate, Regina Soria, Edan Hughes, and Dee Clarke Welles, historians of California art and history; and the museum staff and archivists Lawrence Dinnean and Marie Byrne of the Bancroft Library; Michael Redmon and Mrs. Henry Griffiths of the Santa Barbara Historical Society; Grace E. Baker of the Society of California Pioneers; Fr. Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., of the Santa Barbara Mission Archives; Judy Sheldon and Johanna Stokes of the California Historical Society; Georgia J. Douglas of the Hayward Area Historical Society; Margie Gamboa, Celine Cebedo and Cheryl L. Kaiser of the de Saisset Museum; Christine D. Doran of the Oakland Museum; Andrew M. Canepa of the American Italian Historical Association; John Gonzales of the California State Library; and Alexa Luberski of the California Department of Parks and Recreation. In Bolivia, thanks are due to Alberto Crespo of the Central Library at the Universidad Mayor de San Andres; and in Peru, Dra. Maria Rostworowski of the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, and Dr. Thomas M. Davies of the Department of Latin American Studies at San Diego State University who arranged to hire a student researcher, Carlota Casalino, to locate data on Barbieri's

years in Lima. A very special thank you goes to Amelie Elkinton of the Monterey History and Art Association who provided answers to seemingly endless questions on Barbieri's sitters in the Monterey area. The Barbieri letters and other documents were translated for the author by Paulette Hennum (Italian), Isabel Franssen (French and Spanish), Dr. Iris Engstrand (Spanish), and Corey Braun (Spanish).

1. The main sources of published information on Barbieri are: Edan M. Hughes, *Artists in California 1786 - 1940* (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Company, 1986); Museo Italo-Americano, *Italian-American Artists in California 1850 to 1925* (San Francisco, n.d.); Charlotte P. Myrick, "Leonardo Barbieri, Painter", *Noticias*, IX: 2 (Summer 1963); Helen Spangenberg, *Yesterday's Artists in the Monterey Peninsula* (Monterey: Monterey Museum of Art, 1976); Jeanne Van Nostrand, *The First Hundred Years of Painting in California 1775 - 1875*, (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1980).
2. These letters were purchased by the California Historical Society in 1939 from a dealer in Paris along with a photograph of Barbieri and his portrait of Count Raousset-Boulbon.
3. A handwritten biographical note about Barbieri by the Count de Monclar (hereafter referred to as "Monclar") accompanied the Barbieri letters (hereafter referred to as "Barbieri" followed by the item number). In this note, Monclar states that Barbieri was about sixty years old in 1869. Monclar also refers to the painter as "Luigi" instead of Leonardo," but from the contents of the letters there can be no doubt that he is referring to the same person.
4. Benezit's *Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dissinateurs et Graveurs* lists thirty-one artists named Barbieri. Monclar states that Barbieri's brother had also been a painter.
5. Barbieri's letters were written in all three languages.
6. Monclar speaks of a *chagrin*.
7. Information on Barbieri's stay in

Argentina is from Vincente Gesvaldo, ed. *Enciclopedia del Arte en America* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Omeba, 1968).

8. Correspondence with Alberto Crespo, Director of the Biblioteca Central, Universidad Mayor de San Andres in La Paz, was unable to confirm that Barbieri taught there. Monclar reports that Barbieri was a miner in California for a time.
9. Spangenberg, p. 15.
10. Mary Haggland, "Don José Antonio Aguirre: Spanish Merchant and Ranchero," *Journal of San Diego History*, XXIX: 1 (Winter 1983), 62, states that the Casa de Aguirre was not completed until early in 1851. The portrait of Rosario has previously been recorded as unsigned. Upon careful inspection, however, the author was able to locate the signature and date on the left side under the arm of the chair.
11. The painting could not be located for inspection at the time of the author's visit to the Bancroft Library.
12. Sweeny's letters (two volumes, bound manuscript copy, San Diego Historical Society, Research Archives) from California request a "dear likeness" of his wife and daughter (Vol. II, p. 87). He was lonely for his family and perhaps had the portrait painted to send them for the same reason. Sweeny's parents visited him in San Diego in the Summer of 1850, and could have returned with the painting (letters July 25 and August 26, 1850).
13. Don Joaquín Carrillo, Don Carlos Carrillo and wife, and Ramona Lorenzana.
14. Translation from Kurt Baer, *Painting and Sculpture at Mission Santa Barbara* Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1953).
15. Spangenberg p.15; also Beulah Linnell "Guillermo Castro," Hayward Area Historical Society Newsletter (May, 1968), p. 6, states that a painting by Barbieri was supposed to be at Lachryma Montis, the home of General Vallejo in Sonoma, but the author was unable to document this.
16. Letter from Henry Halleck to Pablo de la Guerra, January 29, 1852, de la

Guerra papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

17. Halleck to de la Guerra, March 17, 1852.
18. These photographs are in the files of the Monterey History and Art Association.
19. Related to the author by Amelie Elkinton, correspondence of March 17, 1984.
20. Although popular in Dutch art, such surprise effects are unusual in Italian painting, a notable exception being Sebastiano del Piombo's portrait of Cardinal Bandinello Sauli in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which has a fly painted on the cardinal's knee.
21. The author was not able to locate these paintings. Susanna Bryant Dakin dates them to 1853 in her *The Lives of William Hartnell* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949).
22. Spangenberg, Elkinton.
23. Helen Broughall Metcalf "The California French Filibusters in Sonora" *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XVIII: 1. (Mar. 1939), 16, states that Raousset-Boulbon returned to Mexico City in July of 1853. In the Barbieri letters, item #3 to Monclar states that the artist arrived with Raousset-Boulbon on the same steamer.
24. Barbieri item #3 states that they sketched together.
25. Barbieri item #3.
26. Barbieri item #3.
27. Metcalf.
28. de la Guerra papers, Santa Barbara Mission Archives, letter dated January 25, 1854.
29. This drawing is among the Barbieri papers at the California Historical Society.
30. *El Comercio*, 13 January 1860, p. 2, cols. 4-5; 10 February 1860, p. 2, col. 5.
31. *El Comercio*, 10 March 1860, p. 1, col. 3.
32. Gesvaldo; also *El Comercio* 10 July 1860, p. 2, col. 5; 18 July 1860, p. 2, col. 2; 15 August 1860, p. 2, cols. 1-10. Among the other paintings Barbieri exhibited were portraits of Señor Esteños and Señorita Melgar.
33. Carlota Casalina, a student in Lima, prepared a report on Barbieri's activities in that city for the author. This report, dated April, 1986, consists

primarily of transcriptions of newspaper articles mentioning the artist. Gesvaldo records that Evaristo San Cristóbal, Jaramillo and Troncoso were also students of Barbieri.

34. Gesvaldo, entry for "Leonardo Barbieri."
35. Monclar was a cousin of Raousset-Boulbon, which is probably the reason that Barbieri gave him the portrait.
36. Casalina, introductory remarks relating information from the Municipal Archives in Lima, Peru.
37. Barbieri item #8.
38. Barbieri item #6.
39. Another talented Italian, Giovanni Martinelli, worked in the San Francisco Bay Area about the same time as Barbieri. His family portrait of Peter and Josepha Castro Davidson and their son (dated 1851), and his portrait of Martina Arellanes Martinez are in the collection of the M.H. de Young Museum in San Francisco. William S. Jewett (1812 - 1873), early California's best-known portrait painter arrived about the same time as Barbieri, as did Charles Christian Nahl (1818 - 1878) and Stephen W. Shaw (1817 - 1900). For other artists active in California at this time see Van Nostrand.

Peterson, The Philanthropist and the Artist, pp. 278-285.

1. George Hearst was a neighborhood friend from Phoebe's childhood in Missouri. She was only nineteen and her husband was forty-one when they married and left for California. See Richard H. Peterson, "Philanthropic Phoebe: The Educational Charity of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," *California History*, LXIV (Fall 1985), 284, and references to Hearst's mining career in Peterson, *The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), passim.
2. See W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst: A Biography of William Randolph Hearst* (New York: Charles Scribner's

Sons, 1961), paper ed., pp. 6-7. The Orrin M. Peck collection of letters, documents, manuscripts, and photographs at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California, contains approximately 3,000 pieces. About 100 deal directly with Mrs. Phoebe Hearst's letters, etc. and form the basis of this article (hereafter cited as OMP).

3. For a brief biographical sketch of Peck, see Daniel H. Woodward, ed., *Guide to American Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library and Kingsport Press, 1979), pp. 284-285. Also, see Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, pp. 23, 63.
4. Swanberg, pp. 75, 80-81, 351, 396, 399. "Hearst's most grandiose creation was of course the castle at San Simeon, an architectural orgy showcasing his \$50 million art collection. The San Simeon 'ranch' which also possessed the largest private animal collection in the U.S., was the scene of baronial house parties during the interwar period." See Carol Dunlap, *California People* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Peregrine Smith Books, 1982), p. 90. Of the various illustrated histories of the Hearst Castle at San Simeon, with a useful text, the best is probably Thomas R. Aidala (text) and Curtis Bruce (photographs), *Hearst Castle, San Simeon* (New York: Harrison House, 1984).
5. See numerous letters and postcards from Phoebe to Orrin in which the former identifies herself as his "Other Mother" or on occasion as "Yours affectionately, P.A. Hearst who is your other mother."
6. *New York Times*, April 18, 1919. Also, see especially Peterson, "Philanthropic Phoebe: The Educational Charity of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," pp. 284-289, 313-315.
7. Gloria Ricci Lothrop, "Rediscovering California's Forgotten Women," *California Historical Courier*, XXVIII (April/May, 1986): 4. (A newsletter publication of the California Historical Society.)
8. Phoebe has been overlooked by biographers with the exception of longtime Hearst associate Winifred

Black Bonfils, who wrote for the *San Francisco Examiner*. Her work is hurried, replete with errors, and written in gushy prose, and in no way serves as a scholarly biography of one whom authoritative historian W. A. Swanberg calls "one of the nation's most remarkable women." See Swanberg, 321, and Winifred B. Bonfils, *The Life and Personality of Phoebe Apperson Hearst* (San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1928). In addition to this flawed published account, portions of an unpublished biography of Mrs. Hearst with related notes written by Adele S. Brooks are available in Phoebe Apperson Hearst, Correspondence and Papers, Carton 5, the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (hereafter cited as PAH).

9. Swanberg, pp. 16-19. According to Cora Older, the wife of Fremont Older, who edited one of William Hearst's San Francisco newspapers for over a decade, "she poured the best of herself and the best of all that there was in Europe into her son's ten-year-old mind." See Mrs. Fremont (Cora) Older, *William Randolph Hearst, American* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 29.
10. Letter, Phoebe Hearst to Jeannie (Orrin's Mother), April 15, 1885, OMP.
11. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, November 5, 1903, *ibid*.
12. See especially Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), especially pp. 46-64. On a related subject, Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, and Harry H. L. Kitano, eds., *Japanese Americans: From Relocation to Redress* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1986), provides a thorough, up-to-date account of Japanese American life from the evacuation order of World War II to the current policy debate over redress and reparation.
13. Postcard, Phoebe to Orrin, undated, OMP.
14. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, February 7, 1905, *ibid*.

15. Letter, Phoebe ("Your Other Mother") to Orrin, February, 9, 1905, *ibid*.
16. The *Washington Post*, April 14, 1919, mentioned Phoebe's prominent role at social affairs in the nation's capital. California's governor, George Stoneman, chose Hearst to fill the unexpired term of U.S. Senator John Miller when the latter died in March, 1886. He served from March 23 until August 4, 1886. A special session of the then Republican-controlled California legislature replaced the Democratic Hearst with a party member, Abram P. Williams, who completed the remaining seven months of Miller's term. In January, 1887, Hearst was elected to a full term in the Senate by the California legislature. See Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892* (Sacramento: California State Library, 1893), p. 436; George Hearst, *The Way It Was: Recollections of U.S. Senator George Hearst, 1820-1891* (San Francisco: The Hearst Corporation, 1972), p. 26; Fremont and Cora Older, *George Hearst: California Pioneer*, 2nd ed. (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966) pp. 195-196; and R. Hal Williams, *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1973), p. 102, note 52. On January 19, 1887, the *New York Times* changed that "Hearst's Senatorial seat . . . cost him a million" and that Chris Buckley, the blind Democratic boss of San Francisco, had delivered the votes necessary to his election.
17. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, undated, OMP.
18. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, November 5, 1903, OMP.
19. Her hacienda estate was known officially as the Hacienda del Pozo de Verona after a well she had brought from Verona, Italy, and placed in the patio. See photographs of the hacienda taken by William Randolph Hearst, August 26, 1904, OMP.
20. Postcard, Phoebe to Orrin, undated, OMP.
21. Swanberg, p. 215.
22. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, May 30, 1899, OMP.
23. Letter, Mrs. George B. Thacher to the author, undated, but in the Spring of 1986.
24. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, undated with the exception of a reference to Saturday evening, OMP.
25. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, May 30, 1899, OMP.
26. A complete report on the value of her individual benefactions to the University can be found in "A Gracious Lady Helped the Young," *Oakland Tribune*, April 27, 1969. Also see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, pp. 488-489; the *San Francisco Examiner*, April 14, 1919; *Los Angeles Herald*, September 26, 1976; and Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868-1968* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), pp. 86, 119-120, 137, 160, 177, 191. Regarding the architectural plan for the University of California, see letters, Bernard Maybeck to Phoebe Hearst, 1896-1899, Incoming Correspondence, PAH. Mrs. Hearst was an early pioneer in the free kindergarten movement in San Francisco and elsewhere. She worked closely with Sarah Cooper in this regard, who in 1887, named a kindergarten in honor of Mrs. Hearst's generosity. See Carol Roland, "The California Kindergarten Movement: A Study in Class and Social Feminism" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1980), pp. 6-7, 13-14, 21-22, 98.
27. For various reactions from the northern California press, although mostly favorable, see the *San Francisco Call*, June 11, 1904; *Oakland Tribune*, June 4, 8, 9, 1904; and the *Chico Enterprise*, June 7, 1904. Female students who needed jobs to help defray the cost of their education found employment as seamstresses in the Hearst Domestic Industries, established at the University in 1900. For information on this, see the *San Francisco Examiner*, April 14, 1919; and the *Oakland Tribune*, April 27, 1969. Also see letters written by Hearst Domestic Industries students, 1 folder, Carton 1; and letters, Amanda Hicks (director) to Phoebe Hearst, 1900-1905, Hearst Domestic Industries file, Incoming Correspondence, PAH. According to the *New York Times*, May 28, 1904, Mrs. Hearst withdrew her financial support for unspecified reasons from this organization and several University of California student clubs in 1904.
28. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, August 7, 1905, OMP.
29. Wyntoon in McCloud, Siskiyou County, California, was a five-story, medieval manor house designed by the talented Berkeley architect, Bernard Maybeck. Built in 1902, the castle-like home suited the surrounding rugged northern California fishing country. For a brief biographical sketch of Maybeck's career, see James D. Hart, *A Companion to California* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 265. Also, a recent concise review of his career is available in Georgia Sommers Wright, "Architect's Mind in Flux: Maybeck's *Beaux-Arts* Triumphs, Trials, and Evolution at Mills College," *The Californians*, II (July/August, 1984), 31-38.
30. Letter, Phoebe to Jeannie, June 15, 1899, OMP.
31. For evidence that Mrs. Hearst helped various students to pursue their education, see letters to her from John Bakewell, Edward H. Bennett, Putnam Griswold, Elmer B. Harris, Newell L. Perry, and Jeanette Shafer, Incoming Correspondence, PAH. These letters were written between 1898 and 1915 by students of architecture, music, and drama who were often studying, like Orrin Peck, in Europe.
32. Swanberg, p. 63.
33. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, undated, OMP.
34. *Ibid*.
35. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, February 13, 1907, OMP.
36. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin ("my dear other Son"), undated, OMP.
37. Letter, Phoebe to Janet, December 7, 1905, OMP.
38. *San Francisco Examiner*, April 14, 1919. "Rich Americans spent more money on art during the thirty years from 1880 to 1910 than had ever been spent by a similar group in the world's history." See Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise:*

- A Social History of Industrial America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 257.
39. Postcard, Phoebe to Orrin, February 5, 1906, OMP.
 40. *Ibid.*
 41. Letter, "P.A. Hearst, who is your other Mother," to Orrin, January 1, 1901, OMP.
 42. Letter, Phoebe to Orrin, December 22, 1886, OMP.
 43. Letter, Phoebe to Mrs. Peck, undated, OMP.
 44. Swanberg, pp. 37-38.
 45. For references to Phoebe's occasional ill health, see letter, Phoebe to Orrin, December 22, 1886, OMP.
 46. For reference to Baroness Franchetti,

see telegram, Phoebe to Miss Janet Peck, date unclear, OMP. Members of the Spreckels family are mentioned in a letter, Phoebe to Janet, August 4, 1904, OMP. This prominent California family, founded by Claus Spreckels (1828-1908), made its fortune in the California sugar beet industry and in sugar refineries in addition to other investments. See Hart, *A Companion to California*, pp. 420-421, for a brief summary of the family history.

47. For her role in the development of the Department of Anthropology and university archaeological expeditions, see Timothy H.H. Thoresen, "Playing the Piper and Calling

the Tune: The Beginnings of Academic Anthropology in California," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, XI (July, 1975), 257-275; and Edward T. James, et al., eds., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950; A Biographical Dictionary* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), II, p. 172. The Hearst biographical essay was written by the distinguished western historian, Rodman W. Paul.

48. The number of entries referring to women, though not extensive, in elementary, secondary, and college-level texts is documented in Lothrop, "Rediscovering California's Forgotten Women," pp. 4-5.

CORRECTIONS

Due to an oversight in the editorial and production process for the September, 1987, issue of *California History*, Thomas R. Clark's article entitled "Labor and Progressivism 'South of the Slot': The Voting Behavior of the San Francisco Working Class, 1912-1916" was published with typographical errors which should be corrected as follows:

p. 197, col. 2: the last sentence of the first paragraph should read, "More recently the role of labor has recieved more attention in histories which treat progressivism not as a unified phenomenon but as a heterogeneous collection of groups often seeking quite different sets of objectives."

p. 197, col 2: the third sentence of the third paragraph should read, "San Francisco's neighborhoods were relatively homogeneous, with predominantly working class districts in the South of Market,

middle class districts in the Sunset and the Richmond, and the upper class districts of Pacific Heights and Nob Hill."

p. 198, col. 3: the first sentence of the last paragraph should read, "Shover's and Rogin's conclusions were based almost entirely on the vote for Johnson, yet Hiram Johnson's ability to secure the votes of working-class voters does not mean that all Progressives, much less 'progressivism,' elicited the same response."

p. 203, cols. 1-2: the sentence joining the columns should read, "Party affiliation did not affect the way candidates for state offices in California were treated in the labor press." The following sentence, which refers to "the following table" should have been deleted.

p. 204, col. 3-p. 205, col 1: the sentence joining the columns should read, "An unsigned editorial

referred to Hughes as the 'candidate of the plutocracy' and reckoned that Hughes appeared to 'have less sympathy (for) . . . American workers than the Czar of Russia has shown for Polish Jews.'"

p. 206, col. 2: the first sentence should read, "Working-class voters supported Hiram Johnson and accounted for the greater part of Johnson's political success after 1914; however, support for Johnson cannot be interpreted as support for all Progressives, much less progressivism."

p. 207, col. 2: the first full sentence should read, "Quite possibly a close examination of Los Angeles and San Francisco voting results—which were included in Shover's and Rogin's data—would yield a different perspective from that presented here and reveal significant differences in the development of Los Angeles and San Francisco."

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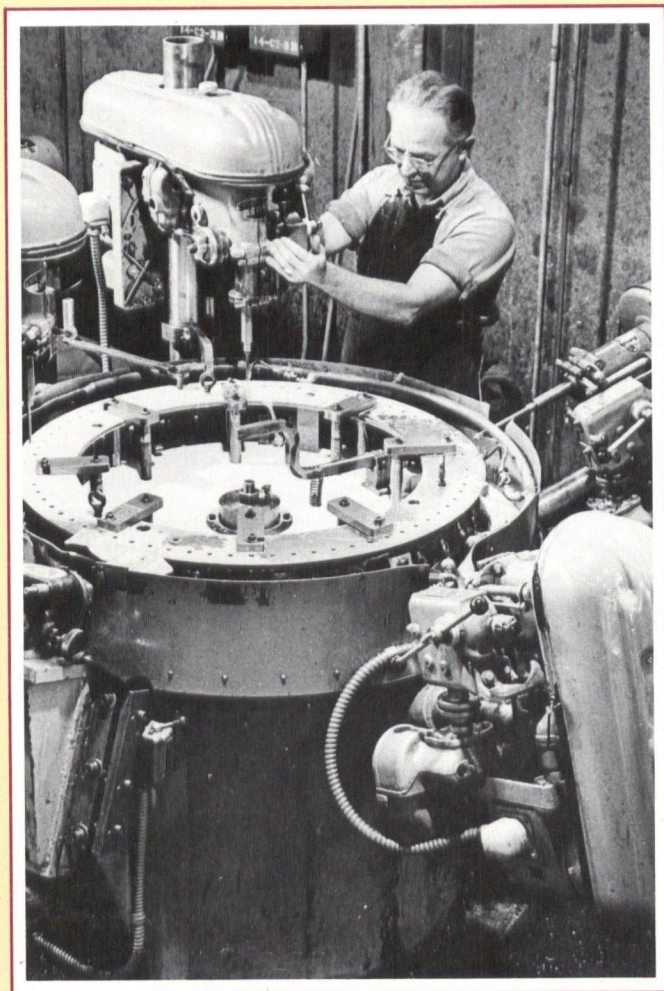
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